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EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Baptism*.—*The Import of βαπτίζω*. By REV. EDWARD BEECHER, President of Illinois College. Biblical Repository, 1840, 1841, 1843.

THE examination of this subject, which has been carried on at intervals for some two years, in the periodical above named, by President Beecher, is viewed with much interest, both in this country and in Britain. Indeed, the originality of the author's views, the learning he brings to their support, his candor and pious spirit, and the solicitude generally felt in the question at issue, cannot fail to render the inquiry attractive to every mind interested in theological subjects.

What is the import of βαπτίζω? Our brethren of the Baptist Church maintain that it signifies to immerse, in all cases. To this definition a large majority of the Christian world object. Such is the nature of the case, and such the connection in which the word is often found, that the exclusive meaning to immerse is deemed defective and incorrect. But what then is its meaning? The word must *have* a meaning; and if we object to that given by the Baptists, we are bound to furnish another. If we think their definition not consistent with reason and truth, it devolves on us to present one that is so. Until we do this, they will undoubtedly have the vantage ground in the controversy; for while we thus tacitly confess that we cannot tell what the word does mean, the world will justly question our right to declare what it does not mean. Not that we would insist upon having the word *translated*: we are satisfied with its form, but we wish to understand its meaning. It is no objection to a word because it is transferred: we have a multitude of such words. Baptize is transferred, and *immerse* is *transferred*: the only difference is, the one was transferred from the Greek, and the other from the Latin. It is no objection to a

word from another language, that it retains its foreign costume, provided we correctly apprehend its original import. To say that the word in question signifies to administer the rite of baptism, is to leave the matter just where we found it: it is using the word as a mere technic—an arbitrary name for a particular rite—and it has no more significance than would belong to any other word agreed upon as a mere sign to designate the rite; yet such is no doubt the only sense in which the term is used by the great mass of Christians, with the exception of the immersionists. But, says the more intelligent reader, I understand βαπτίζω, or baptize, to mean the application of water to the person in the name of the Trinity, in token of spiritual cleansing. Very well. But is this a philological, or a theological definition? It may be a correct definition of the term; but how have we come by it? Our Baptist brethren will tell us, it is a definition of the word derived from our preconceived notions of the ordinance; whereas our notions of the ordinance should be drawn from the meaning of the word. The nature of the rite has been made the proposition; the meaning of the term the corollary. This order should be reversed. The meaning of the word is the first thing to be settled; this done, the nature of the rite is readily and legitimately inferred. This is the principle upon which Mr. Beecher proceeds. His investigations are strictly philological. He considers that βαπτίζω is a generic, and not a specific term; it expresses an effect produced without specifying the outward act by which it is produced. As when our Lord said to his disciples, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," the word "go" is generic, requiring them to proceed on their mission, but not determining whether it should be by the act of walking or riding:—so the author maintains that the word in question signifies *to purify or cleanse*, without designating whether the purification shall be effected by affusion or immersion: understanding, of course, that where the baptism referred to is of water, the purification is only symbolical; and where it is of the Spirit, it is real and effectual. The author's views upon this subject are acknowledged to be original, as a system, even by his opponents. Yet the main position, the idea of the generic import of βαπτίζω, is not with him original; and we have the greater confidence in the system from this very circumstance. *New* doctrines and *new* discoveries in religion, at this late day, are very justly suspicious. The idea that the meaning of so important a word as that before us, the word denoting the rite of initiation into the Christian church, should have lain concealed for one thousand eight hundred years, and should now for the first time have

been revealed, were altogether incredible. Mr. Beecher does not pretend this. On the contrary, one of the main sources of support to his view is found in the fact, that his definition of the word was the one in use by the church for the first thousand years of her history : and among modern writers his opinion receives support from Owen, Robinson, Dwight, Wesley, and Watson. Dr. Robinson says that βαπτίζω, in the New Testament, signifies "to wash, to cleanse by washing : and in the middle sense, to wash one's self, to bathe, to perform ablutions." Says Dr. Dwight, "I have examined almost one hundred instances in which the word βαπτίζω and its derivatives are used in the New Testament ; and four in the Septuagint ; these, so far as I have observed, being all the instances contained in both. By this examination it is to my apprehension evident that the following things are true : that the primary meaning of these terms is cleansing ; the effect and not the mode of washing," &c. Mr. Watson, in speaking of this word in his Theological Dictionary, remarks, "It is evident from hence that it does not express the manner of doing a thing, whether by immersion or affusion, but only the thing done ; that is, washing, or the application of water in some form or other." Indeed, we believe the generic sense has been, and is now, the common, though confused, impression of the Pedobaptist churches. We had the idea, but we scarcely knew from whence we had derived it : we believed the fact, but we were not in possession of the appropriate proof. President Beecher has brought out that proof ; has stated the principle more distinctly, and established it upon the basis of sound argument and clear philological evidence : and that the reader may have some general idea of the manner in which this is done, we will proceed to exhibit an analysis of the author's leading views in as few words as may be ; without affecting originality at all ; but with the simple design to bring his sentiments before an important class of readers who otherwise might not generally have access to them. His main position, however, ought to be stated at length.

"The position I shall endeavor to prove, in accordance with these views, is this, that βαπτίζω, as a religious term, means neither dip nor sprinkle, immerse nor pour—nor any other external action, in applying a fluid to the body, or the body to a fluid, nor any action which is limited to one mode of performance. But as a religious term,* it means at all times to purify or cleanse—words of a meaning so general, as

* By "a religious term," as used here and elsewhere, we understand the author to mean, a term employed to express a religious act, that is, an act pertaining to some part of ceremonial or experimental religion.

not to be confined to any mode, or agent, or means, or object, whether material or spiritual, but to leave the widest scope for the question as to the mode—so that in this usage it is in every respect a perfect synonyme of *καθαρίζω*," (to purify.)

Granting that the term does, in its original classical use, signify a variety of external acts, of which immersion is one, and perhaps a prevailing one, Mr. Beecher contends that as thorough purification is frequently performed by immersion, so the word *βαπτίζω* came by the use of language to signify to purify, without any reference to the outward act; that is, it came to signify the effect instead of the cause: and in this meaning it is always employed in the Scriptures when used as a religious term. That there can be no objection, *a priori*, to this idea, is shown from the fact that nothing is more common in the phenomena of language, than for words originally of one meaning to take another analogous meaning by subsequent use. It depends upon one of the first and simplest operations of the mind, the association of ideas. It is the foundation of metonymy, a figure of speech, than which none is more common. To give a single example of similar usage, we would instance the word *prevent*, whose original and literal signification was to *go before*; (as in 1 Thess. iv, 15;) but now it has come to mean an *effect* of going before, namely, to hinder. But not only is there no probability against such a secondary sense to the word under examination; there is strong probability in its favor. By the existing manners and customs of the Jews, such a meaning of the term would naturally be superinduced. The customs particularly referred to are those of bathing or immersing the body for purposes of purity; which, though they were not enjoined by the law of Moses, but simply washings of the body, were nevertheless practiced: as also the sprinklings of blood and of water on various occasions, all which had for their grand object, to impress upon the minds of that nation the necessity of moral purity. Again, this probability is greatly heightened by the fact that *βαπτίζω* is employed to designate the work of the Holy Spirit upon the human heart, which is to purify. Of His work the writers of classic Greek had no idea: hence, when the word came to be applied to a subject of thought unknown to them, it is natural to suppose its meaning was somewhat modified. His way being thus prepared, the author proceeds to establish his position by an appeal to facts in the use of the word, as it occurs in the canonical Scriptures, the Apocrypha, and the fathers.

I. In John iii, 25, *καθαρισμος* (purifying) is used as the synonyme of *βαπτισμος*, (baptism,) the substitution of the latter word in the

place of the former not only conveying a sense consistent with the context, but clearing up a passage which is otherwise obscure. The question which arose between some of John's disciples and the Jews is called a question about "purifying;" yet the context, both before and after, shows that the question was about baptizing. Indeed, John's remarks, when the subject of the dispute was referred to him, cannot be explained but upon the ground that he understood the question to arise out of a supposed rivalry between his and Christ's baptism. This view is further strengthened by chapter iv, 1-3. Hence βαπτισμος is synonymous with καθαρισμος.

II. This definition best explains the existing expectation that Christ should baptize. It was not foretold that he would immerse, but it was foretold that he would purify, Mal. iii, 2, 3: hence when John came purifying multitudes in Jordan, and still denying that he was the Christ, they could ask with much force, (John i, 25,) *Τι σὺν βαπτίζεις*: Why then dost thou purify? And John's reply (verses 26-33) perfectly comports with this sense of the term. As though he had said, Do not suppose I am the great "Purifier" foretold by Malachi: I purify merely with water,—he shall purify you with the Holy Ghost. To purify men by the operation of the Holy Ghost upon their hearts, is a natural idea, and in perfect accordance with the analogy of faith. But to immerse a person in the Holy Ghost, what can that mean? The conception is preposterous.

III. In 1 Cor. xii, 13, we are again said to be baptized by the Holy Spirit, where all external acts are out of the question. The baptism here is internal: and it is not an immersion of the soul, but it is that purification of the soul by which we become united to the "body" of the invisible church of Christ. Or to use the apostle's own exposition of the passage, it is "the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour," Tit. iii, 5, 6.

IV. The fact that βαπτίζω and καθαρίζω are used in the same relation to the forgiveness of sins, strongly favors the idea that they are synonymous. Καθαρίζω relates to both kinds of purification, legal and moral; that is, to the cleansing the conscience from sin by pardon, and the cleansing the heart from moral defilement by regeneration. For the former, see Exod. xx, 7; xxxiv, 7, Sept., and 1 John i, 7; Heb. ix, 14. For the latter, see Psal. l, 2, 7; xix, 12, 13, Sept., and 2 Cor. vii, 1. For a similar use of βαπτίζω in relation to legal cleansing, see Mark i, 4; Acts ii, 38, and xxii, 16. And for its use in a similar relation to moral cleansing, see all

those passages where the baptism is that of the Spirit. Hence, as the two words have the same extent of application, and stand in the same relation to the forgiveness of sins, it is highly probable that they have the same sense. By giving βαπτίζω a signification as extensive as purify, it is adapted to fulfil all its relations. By confining it to a sense so limited as to immerse, it is unfitted for at least one half the relations in which it stands.

V. In Heb. ix, 10, the context, and the scope of the writer, require that βαπτισμοι (baptisms) be used synonymously with καθαρισμοι, (purifications,) that is, he is not speaking of diverse immersions, but of "diverse washings," according to the English version; and although the former word (βαπτισμοι) does not relate here to the Christian rite, yet as it is used in a religious sense, and as it relates to those customs which it is believed gave rise to its secondary sense, the sense of purification, it becomes a passage of much interest in the discussion. Several things are to be observed:—
 1. The scope of the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters, is to show, by contrast, the superior purifying effect of Christ's atonement over the atonements made under the law: that while the latter "sanctified only to the purifying of the flesh," the former "cleansed the conscience from dead works to serve the living God." The one had only a symbolical, the other a real cleansing power. 2. The passage in its whole range relates to the effects of the Mosaic ordinances upon *persons*, and not upon things. 3. Among these ordinances for persons βαπτισμοι are mentioned. 4. *But the immersion of persons is nowhere enjoined under the Mosaic ritual.* This is proved by the fact that no washings of persons is ever enjoined by the word טָבַל to immerse, even in a single instance, nor by any word that denotes immersion, but by the word יָחַךְ to wash, or purify, without any reference to mode. 5. Hence the διαφοροι βαπτισμοι of the law were not diverse immersions, but diverse purifications, or washings, and this is their meaning in Hebrews ix, 10.

VI. In Mark vii, 4, 8, and Luke xi, 38, καθαρίζω is the natural sense of βαπτίζω, and καθαρισμος of βαπτισμος. 1. This sense fulfils perfectly all the exigencies of the passages. Indeed, in the quotation from Luke, καθαρίζετε, in verse thirty-nine, actually answers to εβαπτισθη, in verse thirty-eight; and in that from Mark, νιψονται, (wash,) in verse three, answers expressly to βαπτισονται, in verse four; and hence our translation renders them both very properly by the same term. 2. Nothing in the context demands the meaning immerse, but powerful reasons forbid it. All must confess that purification, or cleansing, is the only idea involved in the subject of thought.

Was the Pharisee offended with Christ because he was not immersed before he sat down to dinner? Common sense accords with the opinion of Bloomfield and Rosenmuller, in maintaining that the passage from Mark teaches, not that the whole Jewish nation were in the habit of immersing themselves before their meals, as often as they returned from the market, but that they purified themselves in whatever way convenience might dictate. But above all, who can believe that they were accustomed to immerse the couches on which they reclined at their meals? That *κλιναι*, in Mark vii, 4, signifies couches, is conceded by impartial critics on both sides of the question. These couches or beds were large enough for from three to five persons to recline upon, each of them with ease. And now that "all the Jews" were in the frequent habit of immersing these articles is utterly incredible: that they purified them by some slight ceremony, as sprinkling or otherwise, is natural, and perfectly comports with all the circumstances of the case.

Our author next strengthens his position by quotations from the Apocryphal writers; of course not as recognizing their authority in questions of doctrine, but simply to exhibit the sense in which they use the word in question. And there is the more force in testimony from this quarter, from the fact that these writers were Jews, acquainted with the Mosaic rites, and used the same dialect in which the New Testament was written, namely, the Alexandrine Greek.

I. We are told (Judith xii, 7) that Judith remained in the camp of Holofernes three days, and that each night (*κατανυκτα*) she went out to the valley of Bethulia, and purified or washed herself, *εβαπτιζετο*, in the camp, at the fountain of water. The circumstances of the case in this passage forbid, at first sight, the idea of immersion; and those who examine the connection in which the account is found, will only be confirmed in the impression: for if there was an immersion, it was performed in a state of nudity, or it was not. That it was the latter, is incompatible with the state and character of Judith's apparel, as described with great particularity of detail both before and after the repeated ceremony; and to believe the former in the case of a pious female, for three nights in succession, at so public a place as a fountain in a camp of soldiers, is impossible even for credulity itself!

II. Another passage from the Apocrypha is Sirach xxxi, 25.* In this place it is said, "he that is cleansed from a dead body, *βαπτιζομενος απο νεκρου*, and again toucheth it, of what profit to him

* Thirty-fourth chapter, English version.

is his cleansing?" (λουτρον.) That the writer of this passage understood βαπτίζω in the sense of purifying is evident. 1. Because the preposition απο (from) suits the idea of purification, but is contrary to that of immersion. It is natural to speak of purifying one from a dead body; but to speak of immersing one from a dead body is unintelligible. 2. Because no immersion is commanded by Moses on account of touching a dead body, but simply a washing. 3. Because the principal ceremony in cleansing a person from the defilement contracted by coming in contact with a corpse, and that which alone was made indispensable, was the sprinkling the "water of separation," or the water in which had been mingled the ashes of the red heifer: the neglect of this was punishable with death. The ceremony, therefore, referred to in the text by βαπτίζομενος was a purification; an immersion it cannot have been.*

For his last source of evidence, President Beecher resorts to the fathers. He quotes them not because he considers them the standard of theological opinions, for he acknowledges that their doctrinal views were pregnant with superstition: he cites them merely as testimony in a matter of fact with which they were acquainted. The Latin fathers were men of eminent learning; they must have known the import of the term before us: and as to the Greek fathers, their usage is of great weight in determining the meaning of a Greek word of the most common use among them; especially as some of them wrote soon after the apostolic age, and their language partook strongly of the dialect in which the New Testament was written. "That the Greek fathers," says Prof. Stuart, "and the Latin ones who were familiar with the Greek, *understood* the usual import of the word βαπτίζω, would hardly seem to be capable of a denial." The same point is conceded with equal explicitness by the great Baptist champion Mr. Carson. Now let the fathers declare whether the word was used by them in the specific sense of immersion, or in the generic sense of purification. We have already seen that there is the strongest reason to believe, that the latter was its signification before and during the age of the apostles. And if it shall now appear that the word was used in the same sense by their successors, and by the great lights of the church, not only during the period generally assigned to the fathers, but even as low as to the eleventh or twelfth century, the proof from philology will be complete, and such as should satisfy every unprejudiced mind. Of the numerous passages quoted by our author, we shall cite but a few, and those of that class which are

* See Numbers xix.

most unequivocal, and which exclude the possibility of the sense, immersion.

I. In Origen, Hom. 7, on Judges vi, occurs a long passage on the baptism of blood, in which he says, speaking of the crucifixion of Christ:—“*vides ergo quia profusionem sanguinis sui baptismum nominavit*.” thou seest therefore that he named the outpouring of his blood a baptism. Here it is impossible that *baptisma* (baptism) should have the sense of immersion: but give it the meaning of purification, and all is plain; for an outpouring of blood is a purification in a sacrificial sense.

II. Clemens Alexandrinus says,—“That may be an image of baptism which has been handed down from Moses to the poets thus, (quoting from the Odyssey,) ‘Penelope having washed herself, *υδρονηαμενη*, and having on her body clean apparel, goes to prayer.’ And again: ‘Talemachus having washed his hands *νιψαμενος* in the hoary sea, prayed to Minerva.’ *Εθνος τουτο Ιουδαιων ως και το πολλακις επι κοιτη βαπτιζεσθαι*, this was the custom of the Jews that they also should be often baptized upon their couches.” Now what is the import of this passage? Why—1. In the mind of Clemens, that which was a simple literal washing, was the image of Christian baptism; for of such baptism he is speaking in the context. 2. He states that the nation of the Jews were accustomed, while reclining at their meals, to be baptized often upon their couches. Now, a purification in this posture, as a washing of the hands, accords with his quotations from the Odyssey, and was perfectly practicable. Indeed, as a matter of fact, we know this was the custom of the Jews. But immersion does not accord with those quotations, and under the circumstances was impossible. A whole nation in the habit of frequent immersion on the couches on which they reclined at table, and each couch large enough to accommodate from three to five persons! We thought the case sufficiently difficult when it was required of the Baptists to show how the couches alone could be immersed. And when Mr. Carson thinks he has disposed of that difficulty by supposing the couches so constructed as to be readily taken apart and put together again, how sad his disappointment, to be met with a case where, from the very nature of things, the couch must not only be immersed entire, but some four or five persons upon it! Are his powers of invention adequate to this exigency? Will he have a baptistery under the dining room, and provide ropes and pulleys, and a trap-door, by which guests could be immersed, couches and all? But if he furnish this machinery for one house, he must for all, for the custom was a national one. But how is this to be done in the rough

elevated country of Judea, mostly retired from the sea, and in general destitute of lakes and rivers? To make the hypothesis probable, it would be necessary to transport the nation from the arid heights of Ephraim and of Gilead, and set them down amidst the canals of the Netherlands or the lagoons of Venice: and even then, the people must become amphibious, or they never could endure the frequent, endless repetition of a custom so repugnant to beings not originally aquatic.

III. Says Ambrose, speaking of Psa. li, 7, "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow;"—*Qui enim baptizatur, et secundum legem, et secundum evangelium videtur esse mundatus. Secundum legem, quia hyssopi fasciculo Moyses adspergebat sanguinem agni, &c.* For he who is *baptized*, both according to the law and according to the gospel, is made clean. According to the law, because Moses, with a branch of hyssop, sprinkled the blood of a lamb, &c. 1. The reference here is to the sprinkling of the blood of a lamb upon the door-posts, at the original institution of the passover; for this was the only sprinkling of the blood of a lamb by hyssop in the Old Testament. 2. Now as his main position, Ambrose is stating that he who is baptized, both according to the law and according to the gospel, is made clean. 3. Of course there *were*, as he understood the term, baptized persons under the law. 4. Of these baptized persons, Ambrose gives one example to prove his main position. Who were they? This is the point. Were they persons immersed, or purified? Plainly the latter, for he refers to a case in which there was nothing but purification; that is, expiation by the sprinkling of the blood of a lamb, and in which immersion was impossible.

IV. In a passage from Proclus, where the writer is expounding the reply of John to Christ, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" the following language is held: "How shall I dare to purify βαπτισαι thee? When is the fire purified καθαίρεται by the stubble? When does the clay wash πλυνει the fountain? Πως βαπτισω τον κριτην υπευθυνος; How shall I, a culprit, purify my judge? Observe particularly the last clause: what violence is done to the connection, to ask, How shall I, a culprit, immerse my judge? But to inquire, How shall I, a culprit, purify, legally, that is, acquit my judge? harmonizes with the sentiment of the whole passage. Indeed, the laws of antithesis absolutely require this sense. This is seen not only in the context already quoted, but in what follows; for he goes on to say,—“How shall I purify βαπτισω thee, O Lord! I see no fault in thee. Thou

hast never fallen under the curse of Adam: thou hast committed no sin. How will the earth bear to see him who makes pure *αγιαζοντα* the angels, purified *βαπτιζομενος* by a sinful man? How then shall I, a polluted man, purify *αγιασω* God—the sinless God?" What Greek scholar, after observing *βαπτίζω* first used antithetically with *πλυνω*, *καθαρίζω*, and *άγιαζω*, and then actually exchanged for *άγιαζω*, but will insist that it must here be used in the sense of purify, and that it cannot have the sense of immersion?

V. In commenting on Isaiah iv, 4, (Sept.,) "For the Lord shall wash away *εκπλυνει* the filth of the sons and the daughters of Zion, and shall purge *εκκαθαριει* the blood of Jerusalem from the midst of them, by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of burning," Basil remarks thus:—"Plainly the word foretells the same things concerning the Lord, by John; who says that he shall baptize *βαπτισει* you by the Holy Ghost and fire. But concerning himself he says, I indeed baptize *βαπτίζω* you with water unto repentance." In one series of expressions the terms are *πλυνω* and *εκκαθαρίζω*, and in the other *βαπτίζω*, and Basil says that the import of both modes of expression is "plainly the same."

VI. To the same effect is the testimony of Athanasius. In speaking of the passage, "he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost," he says, in so many words, that *βαπτίζω* has the sense of purify. His language is as follows:—"Το αυτος υμας βαπτισει εν πνευματι αγιω, τουτο θελοι, οτι καθαριει υμας: "The expression, he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, means this, that he shall purify you;" that is, absolve you, or remit your sins. That this is his meaning is clear from what follows; for he adds, "Because the purification *βαπτισμα* of John could not do this, but that of Christ, who has power to forgive sins."

VII. The ancient lexicographers, Zonaras and Phavorinus, define *βαπτισμα* thus:—"The remission of sins by water and the Spirit; the unspeakable forgiveness of sins; the loosing of the bond, (that is, of sin,) granted by the love of God toward man." These are all equivalents of sacrificial purification, or forgiveness of sins. They would be perfect definitions of *καθαρισμος* in the sacrificial sense. Again, they give definitions of *βαπτισμα* in its moral sense; that is, the sense of moral purification or regeneration, thus:—"The voluntary ordering of a new life toward God, or according to the will of God; the releasing or recovery of the soul" (that is, from sin) "to that which is better;" that is, holiness. These again would be perfect definitions of *καθαρισμος* in its moral sense, as denoting moral purification. As to the authority of these

writers, Phavorinus was an authentic and noted lexicographer, and Zonaras was one of the most distinguished men of his age. He wrote a history from the beginning of the world down to 1118. Of this history Tittman says it is not surpassed by any Byzantine writer. Of his Lexicon he says, "I consider it, after that of Hesychius, the most learned of all others that survive, the most copious, and most accurate; so that by it we may correct and confirm Suidas, the author of the Etymologium, and even Hesychius himself." Here then we have two lexicographers who wrote in Greek, who took their definitions from the fathers, and in their phraseology; one of them a historian perfectly familiar with the works of the Greek fathers, the author of commentaries on the apostolical canons: did not these men know the meaning of βαπτισμα? And yet of immersion they say nothing; every definition is an equivalent of καθαρισμος.

VIII. Again, as if to exclude all doubt, the prepositions which often follow βαπτισμα, in patristic usage, are entirely consonant with the sense of purification, but exclude that of immersion. They are δια, εκ, απο, and in Latin, per. We find βαπτισμα δια πυρος, δια δακρυων, δια μαρτυριου, δι αιματος, δι υδατος, purification by fire, by tears, by martyrdom, by blood, by water; not immersion in fire, in tears, in martyrdom, in blood, in water. We have also βαπτισμα εκ or απο πνευματος, υδατος, πυρος, purification from or by the Spirit, water, fire, not immersion in the Spirit, or water, or fire. And Hilarius, speaking of the passage in 1 Cor. x, 2, "And were all baptized εβαπτισαντο unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea," remarks thus:—"Their past sins were not imputed unto them, *sed per mare, et per nubem purificati*, but being *purified* by the cloud and by the sea, they were prepared to receive the law." So full and decisive is the proof from the fathers in favor of the meaning contended for by our author: and what has here been exhibited is scarcely a tithe of what is presented in his work. Still he does not deny but that in speaking of baptism, the two senses, immerse and purify, are both sometimes used. But it is to be observed, they are applied to the rite in different ways, and for different ends. "Taken in the sense of purify, βαπτίζω denotes the real import of the rite, and the thing enjoined, and is used in the sacrificial and religious sense; but when it denotes the act of immersion, it is not used to denote the real import of the rite, nor in the religious sense, but simply to denote a physical act, that is, a mode in which purification may be performed." And even when it is desired to speak of immersion as a definite physical act, βαπτισμος is not generally used, but καταδυσις, (plunge.)

In concluding the argument, President Beecher remarks:—

“The idea of purification is better adapted to the name of the rite than immersion. It has a fitness and verisimilitude in all its extensive variety of usage which cause the mind to feel the self-evidencing power of truth, as producing harmony and agreement in the most minute as well as the most important relations of the various parts of this subject to each other. This is owing to three facts:—
1. The idea of purification is the fundamental idea in the whole subject. 2. It is an idea complete and definite in itself, in every sense, and needs no adjunct to make it more so. 3. It is the soul and centre of a whole circle of delightful ideas and words. It throws out before the mind a flood of rich and glorious thoughts, and is adapted to operate on the feelings like a perfect charm. To a sinner desiring salvation, what two ideas so delightful as forgiveness and purity? Both are condensed in this one word, [purification.] It involves in itself a deliverance from the guilt of sin, and from its pollution. It is a purification from sin in every sense. It is a purification by the atonement, and purification by the truth—by water and by blood. And around these ideas cluster others likewise of holiness, salvation, eternal joy, eternal life. No word can produce such delight on the heart, and send such a flood of light into all the relations of divine truth; for purification, in the broad Scripture sense, is the joy and salvation of man, and the crown and glory of God.

“Of immersion none of these things are true. 1. Immersion is not a fundamental idea in any system or subject. 2. By itself it does not convey any one fixed idea, but depends upon its adjuncts, and varies with them. Immersion? In what? Clean water or filthy? In a dyeing fluid, or in wine? Until these questions are answered the word is of no use. And with the spiritual sense the case is still worse; for common usage limits it in English, Latin, Greek, and, so far as I know, in all languages, by adjuncts of a kind denoting calamity or degradation, and never purity. It has intimate and firmly-established associations with such words as luxury, ease, indolence, sloth, cares, anxieties, troubles, distresses, sins, pollution. We familiarly speak of immersion in all these, but with their opposites it refuses alliance. We never speak of a person immersed in temperance, fortitude, industry, diligence, tranquility, prosperity, holiness, purity, &c. Sinking and downward motion are naturally allied with ideas which in a moral sense are depressed, and not with such as are morally elevated. Very few exceptions to this general law exist, and these do not destroy its power. Now for what reason should the God of order, purity, harmony, and taste, select an idea so alien from his own beloved rite for its name, and reject one in every respect so desirable and so fit? Who does not feel that the name of so delightful an idea as purification must be the name of the rite? And who does not rejoice that there is proof so unanswerable that it is so?”

As to the *rational* evidence of the correctness of his system,

compared with that of the immersionists, Mr. Beecher briefly remarks:—

“1. It is more adapted to the varying conditions of men, and to all changes of climate, times, seasons, and health. 2. It is more accordant with the liberal and enlarged spirit of Christianity, as a religion of freedom, designed for all countries and all times. 3. It better agrees with our ideas of what is reasonable and fit. 4. It offers no temptation to formalism, nor does it tend to foster arrogance and exclusion. 5. It is perfectly adequate to harmonize the church. 6. It is susceptible of any necessary degree of proof.”

Having thus traced the general outline of our author's position and proofs, we will now consider in brief some of the objections it has encountered. And first, it is objected that the fathers baptized by immersion, and hence they must have understood the word βαπτίζω in that sense. Now that the church in the patristic ages did commonly, though not always, administer the ordinance in that way, is freely admitted. But does it follow from hence that they must have understood the word in the exclusive sense to immerse? Certainly not. For—1. Understanding it as Mr. Beecher does, and as he has shown they did from their works, they would still be at full liberty to immerse if they chose, for his view leaves the mode perfectly optional, and recognizes immersion as valid baptism; not, to be sure, because it is immersion, but because it is a mode of purifying. 2. There were causes directly predisposing the Eastern churches to prefer that mode. These were, first, their climate, costume, and mode of life, which were all adapted to bathing: and secondly, a mistaken interpretation of Rom. vi, 3, and Col. ii, 12, as referring to external baptism, and as representing by immersion the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, an interpretation early rendered current by the influence of Chrysostom in the East, and by Augustine in the West. We shall notice these passages again in another place. But the main opposition which the author has met with is from Mr. Alexander Carson of Edinburgh, a scholar of considerable note, and one of the guiding minds among the Baptists in Great Britain. He has come out upon President Beecher with the virulence of a heated controversialist, and, in a style not remarkable for modesty or Christian courtesy, pronounces his views nonsensical, stupid, and false. In the highly figurative and very Christianlike language of the London Baptist Magazine, with respect to our author's work published in that country, in a pamphlet form, “Mr. Carson has seized it with both hands, divested it of every particle of covering, torn it limb from limb, dissected it with the minutest accuracy, and then, without the slightest token

of pity, committed the fragments to the flames." This may be true of Mr. Carson's treatment of the *pamphlet*, for aught we know, but as to the *teachings* of the pamphlet, so far from suffering annihilation in his hands; they appear to have come forth from the terrible ordeal unmarred and triumphant. Mr. C. objects—

1. That his opponent in giving to βαπτίζω the sense to purify, is defining the nature of the rite, and not its name. To this the latter replies, "that its name and nature coincide. The fathers define its name purification, and its nature is the same." This answer is satisfactory; for it is a well-known principle in logic, that the *nominal* and *real* definition often coincide; that is, the meaning of the word and the nature of the thing are identical.

2. The reader has observed in passing through this sketch of Mr. Beecher's work, that he depends in his reasoning, not solely upon the force of his arguments separately considered, but also upon their combined impression. To this his antagonist violently objects, and maintains that when immersion has once been established as the primitive meaning of βαπτίζω, a secondary meaning cannot be admitted without evidence absolutely demonstrative; that is, unless a case be presented in which the meaning to immerse is impossible: and that as every proof less positive than this would be nothing, so any number of such proofs, taken together, would amount to nothing,—a mere multiplication of cyphers. Now, in the first place, the unprejudiced reader will feel that many of our author's passages do in fact come up to the standard which Mr. Carson himself has erected; they are passages in which the meaning to purify is indubitable, and the idea of immersion utterly out of the question. But secondly, the demand is unfair. To require this in mathematical demonstration would be just, because in that species of reasoning, every argument, like the separate links of a chain, is independent and perfect in itself. But in moral reasoning, to which, of course, all philological discussion belongs, the case is very different. This kind of reasoning is cumulative. It is like the weights of a balance: the matter to be weighed may resist the force of either of them taken alone, yet it is easily poised by the united power of the whole. So in moral evidence. Over and above the force of each argument considered alone, they have an important collective force from their coincidence; for the fact of their coincidence can only be explained upon the assumption of the truth of the position which they favor. The unreasonableness of this objection, therefore, suggests the suspicion that Mr. C.'s outcry against principles so just in themselves, and so universally conceded, must arise from a fear lest there should not be sufficient

solidity in his own system to act as a counterpoise to that of his opponent, and that should the latter be permitted to avail himself of the combined effect of all the arguments he has adduced, the favorite system of exclusive immersion would be "weighed in the balance and found wanting."

3. The objection which Mr. C. urges specifically against the argument drawn from patristic usage is equally futile. Indeed, his attack upon this argument has only served to increase the embarrassment of his own cause. Full of self-confidence, and urged on by an impetuous zeal for a favorite dogma, he commenced the assault upon Mr. Beecher's work when he had issued only his second number, and had as yet but just touched upon the patristic argument. In this attack the assailant first declares his full conviction of the competency of the fathers to decide upon the apostolical use of βαπτίζω. "They knew," says he, "the meaning of the language which they spoke." And again, "To suppose that persons who spoke the Greek language might understand their (the apostles') words in a sense different from that in which they used them, would be to charge the Scriptures as not being a revelation. Whatever was the sense of the word must have been known to all who heard them, or read their writings." This is a very important concession. Coming from the great Baptist leader of the day, and being the established sentiment of the learned on the other side of the question, it transfers the heat of the controversy, by mutual consent, from classic to patristic ground. It now becomes a question of great magnitude in the discussion—Does the general use of the fathers authorize the generic or the specific sense of βαπτίζω? Do they mean by it to purify, or immerse? Those who have examined the quotations brought forward by our author will not hesitate to decide in favor of the former. But Mr. C., not having seen this array of proof when he wrote, strenuously and unqualifiedly asserts the latter. He says, "Mr. Beecher next professes to find proof in the fathers. Proof from the fathers that βαπτίζω means *purify*! As well might he profess to find in them proof for the existence of rail-roads and steam-coaches. There is no such proof. There is not an instance in all the fathers in which the word or any of its derivatives is so used. Without exception they use the word always for immersion." Now Mr. C. had either read the fathers on this point, or he had not. To say that he made this sweeping assertion after having read them, would involve his moral character in a way that we certainly should be unwilling to do. And yet, on the other hand, if he had not read them, the assertion was little less blameworthy. For it was not only "affirming

things whereof he understood not," but it was trifling with the confidence of the numerous and respectable body of Christians of which he is the distinguished representative, and who adopt the opinions of their leader with implicit faith. But whichever horn of the dilemma he shall choose, the state of the controversy remains the same:—First, Mr. C. has acknowledged the perfect competency of the fathers to testify in the case; and secondly, they have uttered their testimony directly against his position, and in favor of his opponent,—testimony that is clear, concurrent, and overwhelming.

4. Finally, it will be objected by some, that there are passages in the Scriptures in which the definition advocated by our author would be indefensible—such as Matthew xx, 22; Luke xii, 50; where the word evidently means to overwhelm or immerse. But it is sufficient to remark on all passages of this class, that Mr. Beecher proposes in the beginning to treat of the word exclusively as a religious term; that is, a term denoting strictly a religious act. He grants that when employed for other purposes, it may sometimes return to its primitive signification. But the passages upon which our Baptist brethren lay the greatest stress, and which indeed they consider as deciding the whole question against us, are Rom. vi, 3, and Col. ii, 12. "These passages," says Mr. Carson, "contain God's own interpretation of his own ordinance." And taking it for granted that the baptism referred to is external, and that the expressions, "buried with Christ in baptism," and "risen with him," are designed to express a resemblance between the immersion and emersion of the candidate from the water, and the burial and resurrection of Christ from the grave, they consider these texts an end of all controversy. To this our author replies in substance:—

1. That if you grant the immersionists all they ask here, his view of the meaning of βαπτίζω is not disproved. It would only prove that under a command to purify, the apostles chose to purify by immersion. But,

2. The baptism, burial, and resurrection, in these passages, are all internal: the passages do not refer to the external rite at all, nor derive any of their language from it; (except the word baptism;) but the language would have been just as it is, if the rite had been administered by sprinkling alone, or if there had been no external rite. This is shown,—1. From the course of the argument in the passages. The inquiry in that from Romans is, whether the Christian system does not encourage sin, by the exercise of grace in forgiveness. Answer, No:—the spiritual baptism (purification)

which we experience at conversion renders us dead to sin, and therefore we shall not continue therein. 2. From the *usus loquendi*, (mode of speaking,) as to the terms death, burial, and resurrection, in a spiritual sense, as found not only in these two passages, but in many others: instance Eph. i, 19-23; ii, 1-7: Col. iii, 3, 4: Gal. ii, 19, 20; vi, 14: 1 Peter iv, 1, 2. For the principle on which such passages are to be interpreted, is, that what took place externally, in connection with Christ's sufferings, has something to correspond to it internally in the experience of Christians: and hence the comparison in the two passages in question is not between the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, and the mode* of baptism; but between his death, burial, and resurrection literally, and our death, burial, and resurrection, spiritually considered.

3. A critical examination of the phrase βαπτισθῆναι εἰς χριστον, to be baptized into Christ, (Rom. vi, 3,) proves that it is used expressly to designate internal baptism; that which actually unites with Christ. For evidence of this, compare this text with Gal. iii, 27, and 1 Cor. xii, 13. Whereas the expression βαπτισθῆναι εἰς ὄνομα χριστου, (to be baptized in the name of Christ,) is used to express the external rite. See Matt. xxviii, 19: Acts ii, 38; viii, 16; x, 48; xix, 5: 1 Cor. i, 13-15. An investigation of these places will show that in every instance where ὄνομα is used, there is internal evidence in the passage to prove that the formal, and not the spiritual baptism is meant. On the other hand, in every case where ὄνομα (name) is omitted, and εἰς (into or unto) immediately precedes χριστον or σωμα, (body,) internal baptism is the subject of thought. In 1 Cor. x, 2, εἰς τον Μωσην εβαπτισανται, (were baptized unto Moses,) does not denote Christian baptism, nor literal external baptism, but a throwing back the name of the antitype upon the type, from a regard to similar effects. Believers, by spiritual baptism, (the antitype,) are delivered from Satan and united to Christ. The children of Israel were delivered from Pharaoh, and really united to Moses as a leader and Saviour, by the transaction of the cloud and the sea, (the type.) There was here no external profession, but a real union to Moses as a leader, effected by a separation

* Indeed, there is no resemblance between immersion and that kind of burial referred to in these texts. The Eastern mode, and that in which Christ was buried, was to deposite the body in a sepulchre, not formed as with us, by a perpendicular, but by a horizontal excavation, made in the side of a hill or rock, where, in the walls of each sepulchre, niches or crypts were prepared for many dead bodies, in the form of a dove-house. The act of burial, therefore, had no resemblance to immersion.

and deliverance from Pharaoh. In all this Moses was the representative of Christ, and therefore the name of the antitype is thrown back upon this transaction, and it is called baptism unto Moses. In Romans vi, 3, we have the phrase, "to be baptized into Christ:" in Gal. iii, 27, to be baptized into Christ is equivalent to putting on Christ: but in Rom. xiii, 14, to put on Christ is explained as the real acquiring of a holy character; as also in Eph. iv, 24, and Col iii, 10-12. Therefore, to be baptized into Christ, expresses not the outward but the inward cleansing. Again, in 1 Cor. xii, 13, spiritual baptism is expressly spoken of: the effect of this is to unite all who experience it "into one body," namely, the invisible church: but in Gal. iii, 27, 28, baptism into Christ is declared to have the very same effect; therefore baptism by the Spirit, and baptism into Christ, are only different expressions for the same thing. Hence, to be buried into death, with Christ, by baptism, implies simply that as Christ died for sin on the cross, so we die to sin in conversion; and the means by which that death is accomplished is internal baptism. The passage from Colossians is of course decided by that in Romans. Still, it is worthy of remark, that the spiritual sense of the baptism in Colossians is sufficiently established by the context: for the resurrection there spoken of is "through faith;" and as is the resurrection, so must be the burial. Further, the baptism here is the "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh," which is only another expression for regeneration, and hence called "the circumcision made without hands."

4. The incongruity of the external interpretation with the tenor of Bible truth. For this interpretation rests the reforming power of the gospel mainly upon the solemnities and professions connected with water baptism; for, says the objector, in the passage from Romans, "as forgiveness is by grace, let us continue in sin that grace may abound." And now the external interpreter makes the apostle reply—"O no! by outward baptism we die unto sin, and therefore we cannot continue therein." But if it were proper to attribute such an effect to any mere ceremony whatever, it would be incongruous to take so much notice in this place of one outward institution, and that too, one which occurs but once in the believer's life, and say nothing of others, as the Lord's supper, the holy sabbath, and the preached gospel, which are ever recurring. Again, it were incongruous to establish the Lord's supper as the institution expressly designed to show forth the atoning death of Christ till he come, and then intrude upon its province by baptism, as if established for the same end. How much more congruous with the general system of Bible truth, to consider the

former as indicating how redemption was procured, the latter how it is applied—the one commemorating the atonement by Christ, the other regeneration by the Holy Ghost.

5. From the tendency of the external interpretation. For it tends naturally to make outward baptism the great destroyer of sin, and the defense of the church against it; thus excluding real holiness, and replacing it by a religion of forms. In other words, it tends to the abominable doctrine of *baptismal regeneration*. Such was in fact the result of this interpretation in the days of Augustine and others of the fathers. Modern writers, it is true, have made corrections and limitations to the patristic rendering, but they have not neutralized the injurious tendency of the external view. Nor can they do this, so long as the great fact remains, that in an argument designed unanswerably to prove the sanctifying power of the Christian religion, a mere external rite comes in where the internal energy of the Holy Ghost ought to come; and while Baptist writers continue to harp upon the “holy tendency of baptism,” the mighty reforming influences of its promises and ceremonies, and of the act of the candidate when he “sinks into a watery grave, and comes forth once more to the vital air, thereby showing forth his duty to die to sin and rise to a new and holy life:” and when all who have not been sunk into this watery grave are excluded from the Lord’s table, and it is not obscurely hinted that they are still out of the kingdom of Christ, and have nothing to hope for but in his uncovenanted mercies.

Concluding remarks. *First*. From a close and prayerful examination of Mr. Beecher’s work, and other kindred works, we are convinced that in his main position he is correct; and though there may be subordinate points, advanced by him in the course of the discussion, which, without further examination, we should not be prepared to indorse; yet that βαπτίζω is used in the generic sense, to purify, whenever it is used in reference to the external or internal baptism, we have no doubt. *Secondly*. If this view be correct, it is important that it be everywhere held up and vindicated. For, 1. It changes the ground of the discussion in an important particular. The question has formerly been, Does the word mean immersion exclusively, or does it also sometimes mean sprinkling and pouring? The Baptists took the former, and we the latter position. This was to our disadvantage, for we labored under the embarrassment of having to prove that the same word may have different meanings, when applied to the same thing, which is inadmissible. Under different circumstances the same word may of course have various meanings, but under the same circumstances,

and applied to the same thing, its meaning cannot change. Hence upon that ground the debate has been protracted, and could never come to a correct, enlightened issue. The great question to be settled is, whether immersion be, or be not, an exclusive mode. The negative of this question is our true position : and this position we should sustain by arguing in the first instance from the import of the term in which the command is couched. And here we should maintain, not that as a specific term it has sometimes one meaning, and sometimes another, but that it is a generic term, and signifies always to purify, and therefore leaves the mode perfectly optional. To corroborate this, other auxiliary arguments will of course be adduced. As, 2. Apostolic practice. For from this we learn that though the apostles may sometimes have baptized by immersion, they did not always—just such a result as we should anticipate from the definition which we defend. And, 3. From the typical relation of the rite to spiritual baptism. External and internal baptism stand to each other in the relation of type and antitype. But as this relation is always founded upon the principle of resemblance, and as the internal baptism is applied by “shedding forth,” and pouring out the Holy Spirit upon its subjects, it is proper that the external baptism should be applied in a similar way. We are called upon to be active in sustaining this view secondly, from the uncharitable and exclusive ground assumed by our Baptist brethren : taking it for granted that baptism is essential to church membership, and that the command to baptize is a command to immerse, they infer, says our author,—

“1. That all other denominations are unbaptized because unimmersed, and that they are therefore in a state of disobedience to God.”

“2. That other denominations cannot be recognized and treated by them as members of the church of Christ, because unbaptized, and are therefore to be excluded on this ground from communion with them at the table of the Lord.”

“3. That other denominations are guilty of mistranslating the word of God, or at least of covering up its sense on the subject of baptism.”

“4. That to the Baptist denomination is assigned the great work of giving a correct translation of the Bible to the world, and of restoring the gospel to its primitive purity and simplicity.”

Nor are these principles with them a mere dead letter : as though the period of argument were past, and the period of triumph had fully come, they affect to rejoice over a universal and undisputed victory ; and exultingly declare that no one will now have the hardihood to question their rendering of the disputed word, unless it be persons who “have no reputation as linguists and philologists

to lose !” And accordingly they have, in their condescension, commenced to supply the world, at home and abroad, with versions of the Bible expurgated from those gross mistakes by which community, through our ignorance, have so long suffered. Now, in view of these things, we must do one of two things. If these positions of the Baptists are tenable and true, why then we ought all to confess our folly, ask pardon of God and man, and become Baptists at once. But if they are not true, we should say so : the world ought to know it. To say nothing of our own interest, as separate Christian communities, the cause of God, the honor of Christianity requires it. The world look with doubt upon what is called a religion of love, when they see one church excluding all her sister churches from the table of their common Lord. The good man weeps when he reflects that the Bible Society, that noble “bond of brotherhood,” which it was hoped, like the gravitating power, would ever hold the various portions of the Protestant church in substantial unity, has been rent asunder, and the way thus paved to introduce into the whole missionary field, and perpetuate to the end of time, those unhappy disputes which have so disturbed the peace of the church at home : and his tears flow afresh when he sees the hand of violence laid upon our own cherished version, beholds it altered and mutilated, and a precedent thus established, which, if followed by the other denominations, would shatter the noble temple of Christianity into a thousand fragments, and make the religion of Jesus the sport of infidels,—a hissing and a byword in the earth. If, then, we have the means of correcting the fundamental error from which these deplorable consequences flow, we ought to use them. Such means we think are furnished in the work before us. The position of this author once settled, and the most important results follow. His position is, “*That there is no command to dip or immerse in the New Testament, but solely a command to purify, in the name of the Trinity.*” From this it follows—

“1. That other denominations are not unbaptized though unimmersed, because they are purified.”

“2. They are not substituting human forms in place of a commandment of God, nor are they in rebellion against God.”

“3. There is no good reason to exclude them from the table of the Lord.”

“4. Nor are they guilty of mistranslating or obscuring the word of God.”

“5. That the Baptists are not divinely set apart to the great work of giving correct translations of the Bible to the heathen world.”

6. *That the mode of baptism is no longer a question of morals, but simply a question of expediency.* Immersion is valid baptism, and affusion is equally so. The only question is, which is the more expedient, that is, more decorous, more convenient, more significant, more favorable to collectedness of mind, devotional feelings? &c. Placed upon this ground, we confess we prefer the latter mode. But if our Baptist friends, *on this ground*, are inclined to the former, very well. We have not a word to say. And hence,

7. It should not be overlooked that while President Beecher's system is pointedly opposed to the high-toned assumptions of the immersionists, it furnishes at the same time the most broad and catholic grounds for reconciliation. For it simply maintains that while baptism, in the sense of purification, is enjoined by a specific command, no particular mode is designated. Here is a liberal basis of agreement. For, in the first place, it permits them to retain their own favorite mode, and allows its validity. *It only denies them the right to censure and exclude.* And, in the second place, it simply asks of them to grant us the same things; and what can be more desirable than a union which requires of neither party the sacrifice of principle or of any valued practice? Especially when that union brings brethren of the same family to eat together around the table of their common Lord,—makes those visibly one, who are already spiritually, and expect to be eternally so,—wrests from the hand of infidelity its worst weapon; and instead of arraying party against party in the church of God, marshals the forces of Emanuel, in one united, resistless phalanx, against the powers of antichrist, to the discomfiture of sin and Satan, and to the joy of heaven.

ART. II.—*The Literary Policy of the Romish Church;—her Indexes, Expurgatory and Prohibitory; her deadly War on the Liberty of the Press, and Literature.*

AT the present crisis in the history of our own country, this topic of discussion would seem to commend itself to every patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, as worthy of his diligent inquiry. The lessons which "philosophy teaching by example" has spread out upon the pages of veritable history, furnish the key of interpretation by which we may unlock the mysteries, which else are inscrutable, in the signs of the times. The present and the future may thus be seen faithfully reflected in the mirror of the past.

It is proposed in this paper to exhibit the proofs, that the Church of Rome has ever waged a deadly war upon the liberty of the press, and upon literature; and that her expurgatory and prohibitory policy is perpetuated to the present hour; not only against the truth of revelation, but equally against the truth in nature and in science; both learning and religion having been the doomed victims of her perennial despotism.

As preliminary to the presentation of these historical and documentary proofs, it is important that we should satisfy ourselves of the sameness of the Romish Church in all ages, and of her unchanged character in the United States, both in creed and practice. All disinterested men will unite in execrating what the Church of Rome has been in past centuries, though many such have been made to believe that her character has improved for the better with the march of mind and the meliorating spirit of the age. It is because of the prevalence of this capital mistake that so strange and criminal apathy is witnessed among the Protestants of our country, and of which Jesuitism has been availing itself meanwhile, in choosing positions, erecting bulwarks, and planting engines of assault and defense in our very midst. The warning voice of history seems to be unheeded; the solemn admonitions of patriotism are scarcely heard; the faithful notes of alarm, uttered by the watchmen on the walls of our American Zion, have all failed to awaken the multitudes of slumbering Protestants around us; such is the false security which their faith in the harmlessness of Romanism, *as it is*, has inspired. And yet such ought to be assured, that the Romish Church is not now a whit less hostile to human knowledge and human liberty than it was in the days of Queen Mary, or in any other period of its blood-stained history.

For the proof that Romanism is what Romanism *was*, we need

no Protestant testimony, for out of the mouth of the Romish Church she is self-condemned. The authentic creed of Pius IV., dated 1564, and recognized by the Council of Trent, contains the explicit claim of infallibility and unchangeableness in doctrine, discipline, and morals, which is affirmed in the encyclical letter, bearing date 1832, and issued by the present reigning pope, Gregory XVI. This single fact demonstrates, that for the past three centuries this immutability is claimed by the highest authority in the Romish Church; and the present pope consistently reprobates every innovation or improvement, and pronounces the idea of renovation or regeneration in the church utterly absurd. So also their ablest apologist, Charles Butler, in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," a standard authority to this hour, most vauntingly affirms, that "it is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be unchangeable; and it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith *ever has been*, such *it now is*, and such *it ever will be*."

But again: all the Roman Catholics of the United States, whether clergy or laity, are required to receive and profess to the very letter the creed of Pius IV., and they are equally bound to acknowledge and obey all the decrees of the Council of Trent; and proselytes to the Romish Church are obliged to repeat and testify their assent to this creed without restriction or qualification. With the dogmas of this creed we have now no concern, our object at present being simply to prove that no change, amendment, or improvement is possible, and thus to establish the position, that Romanism now *is* precisely what Romanism *was*, and must for ever continue to be, without an abandonment of the claim to immutability and infallibility to which the Romish Church makes exclusive pretension. It may seem to change, as it is made to assume the Protestant garb which Romanism has to assume in America, while as yet toleration is the extent of her prerogatives, and civil and religious liberty are here in the ascendant. But though she may thus seem to yield her supremacy, where the sovereign people retain the dominion in Protestant hands, yet it is only the semblance of change, for her infallibility being relinquished by conceding any real changes, her epitaph would be written, and her very existence would suffer annihilation.

This modification of her despotic prerogatives, under the force of circumstances which she cannot control, is an exemplification of another characteristic of Romanism; that is, that her government is administered irrespective of truth and righteousness, and wholly on the principles of worldly policy and time-serving expediency, thus

meriting the title of antichrist. Christianity was introduced by its divine Author, and propagated by his apostles, with the presentation of truth, and not by human policy. The latter, whenever and by whomsoever employed, has been the dictate of worldly wisdom, and is among those carnal weapons which the gospel of Jesus Christ repudiates and condemns. And yet the Romish Church has always been governed by policy—deep, crafty, and cunningly-devised policy; and though compelled by the stress of circumstances to relinquish her settled policy for a time, or modify its rigor in certain places, yet so soon as she could, either by fraud or violence, overcome the restraints which imposed such temporary modification, her immutability has been demonstrated by the development of her latent policy in its utmost rigor. All history is replete with the evidence of this sameness of the Romish Church, whenever and wherever she has held the ascendancy; and when adverse fortunes have placed her within the jurisdiction of liberal governments, and she has been compelled to succumb to the supremacy of the civil power, she has ever assumed the mask of submission, lowered for a time the standard of her exclusiveness and intolerance, and thus given the semblance of improvement.

It is at present only in Italy, Austria, Spain, South America, and Ireland, that the Romish Church can act upon her settled policy, and exemplify her naked deformity. In the United States, for example, no attempt is made to subject all spiritual authority to her own temporal aggrandizement. But is not the creed of Romanism the same here as in Italy? Let the bull of Gregory IX. answer this question; for this, like every other Papal bull, is binding on the conscience of every Roman Catholic on the earth.

“There is only one name in the world,—the pope! He only can bestow the investiture of kings,—all princes ought to kiss his feet. No one can judge him;—his simple election makes him a saint;—he has never erred;—he never will err. He can *depose kings, and absolve subjects from their allegiance!*”

The Council of Florence, whose infallible decree is binding upon every Roman Catholic, explicitly proclaims that “the pope of Rome has supremacy over all the earth!” And that this supremacy is that of a political as well as an ecclesiastical prince, and includes temporal as well as spiritual power, is still more manifest by the oath of allegiance taken by every bishop or other prelate in the United States who has received any dignity from the pope. This is an oath of both temporal and spiritual vassalage, and the decree of Pope Boniface VIII. declares that “it is necessary to salvation that every creature be subject to the Roman pontiff.”

Such then is obviously the relation subsisting between every Roman Catholic in America and the pope of Rome, and yet the policy of the church which holds this absolute and universal supremacy is *in appearance* relaxed pending the continuance of our republican institutions; but in fact, the oath of allegiance to our political government may be absolved at the pleasure of the pope, whose secret instructions to that effect may be held in readiness by every Jesuit bishop in the land, and which may be promulgated whenever the interests of the Romish Church may allow her to resume her settled policy. Is it necessary here to say, that a train may be thus laid, more formidable to our civil and religious liberties than any "gun-powder plot," and to which the match may be placed whenever Pope Gregory XVI., or his army of Jesuits in America, may find it safe to return to the established policy of Rome?

That essential and unchangeable despotism constitutes this policy is exemplified by dictating how men shall think, speak, and act, on pain of eternal damnation. This power, both of dictation and prohibition, extends to thoughts, words, and actions, and is vested in the pope, bishops, and clergy. The opinions of men, as well as their conduct, upon all subjects, whether political or religious, are under this clerical authority; nor can any man differ from the Romish Church on any question of doctrine, discipline, or morals, without incurring her anathemas both in this world and the next. The Romish Church avowedly prohibits all freedom of thought by the express terms of her creed, for therein every Roman Catholic binds himself to the end of his life to hold and profess, to promise and swear to whatever opinions the church holds on all subjects, and implicitly to obey the Roman bishop. And in the same solemn manner every Roman Catholic must "promise and swear, that to the end of his life he will condemn, reject, and anathematize all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church."

This oath annihilates every vestige of freedom of opinion, and binds the immortal mind in chains of interminable bondage. The right of private judgment, liberty of conscience, nay, the privilege to think, or reason, is hopelessly renounced. A Roman Catholic is not at liberty to have any opinion, sentiment, conscience, or religion of his own choice, and the soul itself, including every attribute of manhood, is crushed beneath the iron hoof of Papal despotism. And to induce men thus to surrender their souls to the Romish Church, the priests are ever ready to enter into a solemn covenant, as they did with the old duke of Brunswick, that "if he happened

to be damned for becoming a Roman Catholic, they, the priests, would be damned in his stead."

The unbroken chain of tyranny and oppression with which Romanism has bound the human intellect in all ages is exhibited in the records of impartial history. And at the present hour, in those countries under Papal dominion, a bondage is endured more galling than Algerine slavery, the withering influence of which is apparent in all the nations who still wear the Papal yoke. Human liberty and the rights of man can have no existence where Rome dare assert her supremacy; indeed, the very name of either is so formidable to the ghostly tyrants of the Romish priesthood, that to plead for either civil or religious freedom would expose the heretic to the tortures of the Inquisition here, and to damnation hereafter. And yet in this and other Protestant countries the Romish Church professes to be vastly tolerant, and we hear of bishops and priests discoursing upon the blessings of our free and independent government. Under this plausible disguise, however, they only deceive and betray, for there never was an instance in ancient or modern times when the Romish Church ever did tolerate any other religion, where she had the supremacy. In the light of recent events, it is plain that the power only is wanting in the Jesuits in our midst to crush our young liberties into the dust. So long as the interests of the Romish Church require the present unnatural pretension to toleration, so long will this disguise be retained; but should the time arrive, when by numbers, wealth, and influence, she dare assert her boasted supremacy, there will be an end to toleration; and the hopes of the world in respect to our free government will be quenched in blood.

In no aspect of this subject, however, do the proofs accumulate against the Romish Church as in her expurgatory and prohibitory policy in regard to literature and science; nature as well as revelation being under the ban of her despotism,—matter as well as mind being included in her universal claim of dominion; and we now proceed to show how the majesty of truth is outraged and trampled under foot, whenever her interests demand the sacrifice.

Except painting and sculpture, no one of the arts or sciences has escaped the anathemas of Rome; and these have only been fostered because they could be made tributary to the idolatrous ceremonies of the church. Indeed, these arts are prostituted in her service to the purposes of fraud and imposture, which the Romish Church is ever perpetuating; as, for example, when over the head of their images of the Virgin Mary, whether depicted on the can-

vass, or sculptured in marble, they impiously and blasphemously write that horrible lie, "The mother of God."

Who can recount the number of Papal bulls which have been fulminated against successive discoveries in science, when announced in Romish countries? Pope Zachary uttered his anathemas against Virgil, a bishop of his own church, for daring to think and speak the awful heresy, that there were men living on the opposite side of the earth. "If," says this infallible pope, "he persist in this heresy, strip him of his priesthood, and drive him from the church, and from the altars of his God!" The venerable Galileo shared a still worse fate, for presuming to think and teach that the earth was a sphere, turning on its axis, and moving round the sun. Pope Urban and the Inquisition, *infallible authority*, decreed that his doctrine was false and heretical, and then doomed him to a dungeon for daring to think contrary to holy mother church. One can almost excuse the righteous indignation of the bosom friend of this aged philosopher, when he exclaimed, concerning Pope Urban and the other despots who condemned Galileo, "*I shall devote these unnatural and godless hypocrites to a hundred thousand devils.*"

These and multiplied similar blunders of the infallible church, in reference to literary and scientific discoveries, are the solemn and recorded acts of popes, cardinals, bishops, and priests. They have never been revoked, repealed, or corrected; nor can they ever be reversed without an abandonment of the attribute of infallibility. Hence every Roman Catholic in the United States is bound, by his creed and oath, to hold and profess his belief that we have *no antipodes*. For though voyagers have sailed round the globe, and brought men before our eyes whom they found on the opposite side of the earth, yet still the infallible church has decreed such belief a damnable heresy, and meriting her ghostly anathemas. And as the infallible pope decreed, as early as 1633, that the earth is the centre of the solar system, and is immovable, and that it has a plane surface, resembling a cardinal's hat, every Roman Catholic is bound to believe it still. The discoveries of science, the lights of philosophy, mathematical demonstration, and even the evidence of the senses, are all insufficient to overthrow his faith in the decree of an infallible pope; nor can any number of infallibles correct or reverse the decree, or protect anybody who dares to doubt, from the anathema suffered by Galileo. Modern astronomy must therefore be consigned to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

But still worse: the Romish Church arrays herself against an-

cient and modern literature, whether sacred or profane, by placing under the ban of her holy reprobation every book which may by possibility interfere with her interests, and this without any, the least regard to its intrinsic merits. By her *Index Expurgatorius*, she provides for *erasures*, *interpolations*, *emendations*, and *alterations* in many of the books which, after these forgeries and falsifications of their contents, she graciously allows to be read by the faithful. It is thus that she labours to fabricate what she calls the "unanimous consent of the ancient fathers," by *expurgating* their works of all the testimony they bear against her heresies, and then *interpolating* passages which she afterward quotes in favor of her *novelties*, many of which were invented hundreds of years after these fathers had been dead. The proofs of these deeds of high-handed iniquity are not merely those detected and exposed by Protestant investigation; for Roman Catholic writers have not only acknowledged, but *vindicated*, the precise forgeries of which they have been convicted. Their pretext is, that *unwritten* traditions empower the church to correct those which are *written*; while they hold *both*, as explained by "*the church*," to be of equal authority with the Holy Scriptures. Hence it is, that not content with *expurgating the Bible*!—by omitting, and inserting what the Romish Church decrees—they do more, for by numerous copies of the *Index Prohibitorius*, the *Holy Bible itself is a prohibited book*! not merely Protestant translations, but even their own Douay Bible, is not to be read without a written license from the bishop. But the Bible, in any vernacular tongue, is absolutely prohibited, and so also all books on any subject, written by heretics, are forbidden even to the priests, without their bishop's ghostly permission.

All those books, whether religious, literary, or classical, which cannot be expurgated to the necessary extent, are absolutely prohibited; and accordingly we find that the pope and his grand inquisitors include, in the *Prohibitory Index*, Young's Night Thoughts, Milton's Paradise Lost, Cowper's Poems, and the like classical and standard works, whether in history, literature, or morals, explicitly naming them, and prohibiting them to be read or possessed by any Roman Catholic in any country. Booksellers trading within the civil jurisdiction of the pope are forbidden to sell any book contained in the Index, under the fearful penalties of excommunication, burning of the books, and even *death*! In the invaluable work of Mendham on this subject, the history of these Indexes is given at length, the author quoting from the original copies, printed by authority of popes, inquisitors, cardinals, and bishops, in different countries and for successive centuries. The multiplied alterations,

enlargements, and new editions of these Indexes are here detailed, by which it appears that the license given by one pope to read certain authors has been again and again *revoked and annulled by his successor* in the Papal chair, and a new and enlarged Index Prohibitorius has hence been demanded.

The Index Prohibitorius consists of a catalogue of known and unknown authors, new editions having been issued by successive pontiffs. The works of Martin Luther stand at the head of many of these, and in that of 1550, published by the supreme authority of the senate of the Inquisition, no less than fifty Bibles in different languages are condemned, together with the works of Luther and other reformers, including Calvin and Erasmus. It consists of thirty-six leaves; and after enumerating the names of entire authors, particular books, and anonymous publications, which are condemned, including the various New Testaments then extant, it reprobates these, together with all similar editions and translations, and then adds a list of sixty-one *prohibited printers!* In anathematizing Erasmus, this Index prohibits, in detail, his *commentaries, annotations, dialogues, letters, strictures, versions, and all his books and writings, whether or not they are adverse to religion, and even if they are not on the subject of religion!* It will be observed, that the Greek Testament of Erasmus is here included in the reprobation of this infallible pope, although Leo X., the preceding infallible pope, to whom it was formally dedicated by the author, not only licensed it, but *highly commended it*. This, however, is less remarkable than the fact which these Indexes disclose, that books published by cardinals, who have themselves afterward become popes, have been placed in the Index by their authors immediately after their election; so soon as they acquired infallibility, reprobating their own works as heretical. Pope Paul IV. and Pius II. are both examples of this, and the reason assigned by one such was, that "when he was raised higher he saw things more clearly!"

Thus has the Romish Church ever labored to suppress every species of literature which could not be made tributary to her hierarchy, and this by such desperate measures as excommunicating the authors, burning the books, and prohibiting booksellers, printers, &c., from dealing with them, while the faithful were warned of the spiritual and temporal penalties they incur by reading the works of the prohibited authors, who indeed are anathematized not only in reference to the works already written, but equally those which *these authors might write in the future*. Decrees have been issued, ordering public and private libraries to be searched for prohibited books, as also all bookbinders', stationers', and booksellers'

shops ; requiring not only *heretical* books and pamphlets, but all other such hurtful and dangerous poisons, to be utterly removed, suppressed, or burned ; and severe punishment has been inflicted on all who concealed such writings.

Nor let it be imagined by any, that in the United States greater liberty is allowed to the faithful ; for the decrees of popes, accompanying the Indexes, expressly require these prohibitions to be enforced in "*all cities, territories, and places, of whatsoever kingdom, nation, and people* ; and to have authority in whatsoever way, even without publication, the edicts shall be known." Moreover, a Papal decree, issued as lately as 1822, includes in the Index seven works in English on the Papal controversy in North America, expressly mentioning certain published addresses to the congregation of St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, and of the Right Rev. Bishop of Pennsylvania ; thus affording positive and recent testimony, that his holiness of Rome does not consider these transatlantic regions as alien to his ghostly authority, nor does he despair of finding his prohibitions in the Index respected in the city of Philadelphia.

But we have still later testimony in point in the encyclical letter of Pope Gregory XVI., the present reigning pontiff, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, and bearing date at the Papal see in Rome, August 16th, 1832. It is promulgated in Latin ; but with the original before the reader, the following translation of extracts will be found strictly accurate :—

"*Liberty of conscience* is an absurd and erroneous opinion, or rather mad conceit, and the prevalence of this most pestilent error is owing to that *liberty of opinion* which is spreading far and wide, to the ruin of both church and state ; and both these should combine against that trinity of evils, an ungoverned freedom of opinion, public harangues, and a desire of innovation." Again he fulminates his anathemas against "that most vile, detestable, and *never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated* liberty of booksellers, who publish writings of whatsoever kind they please, a liberty which some persons dare with such violence of language to demand and promote." Again :—

"We are horrified, venerable brethren, when we behold the monstrous doctrines, or rather the portentous errors with which we are overwhelmed, which are disseminated far and wide on every side by the vast multitude of books, and pamphlets, and tracts, small indeed in bulk, but large in mischievous intent."

After rebuking the folly of those who hope to vindicate the church from the wounds she is receiving from the unbridled liberty

of the press, by publishing some book or other in her defense, his holiness proceeds,—

“Far different was the discipline of the church in extirpating the infection of bad books even in the days of the apostles, who, we read, publicly burned a vast quantity of books.” And after eulogizing the Council of Trent for compiling an Index Prohibitorius, he repeats the decree of Clement XIII., his predecessor in the Papal chair, and adds,—

“We must, with all our might, exterminate the deadly mischief of so many books, by *consuming the guilty elements of depravity in the flames!*”

These citations from the official bull of the present pope may suffice, demonstrating as they do that the Romish Church is prompted at the present hour by the maxim openly avowed more than three centuries ago by the vicar of Croyden, in the time of Henry VIII. :—

“*We must root out printing, or printing will root out us!*” and under the like policy a Spanish bishop has, within a few years, forbidden the printing of any book in his diocese, except the Prayer-book.

But the present reigning pope, it is obvious, is not content with thus making war upon books, printing, and the liberty of the press, giving the official sanction of the apostolical see to a censorship of books, by which they may be forcibly wrested out of men's hands; but in this encyclical letter he commands them to be burned, and especially condemns what he calls the “*vile, detestable, and never-to-be-sufficiently-execrated liberty of booksellers!*” thus demonstrating, that if his holiness had the power, he would, by an *auto da fe* in the United States, not only burn the books, but their authors and the booksellers, treading in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors in the chair of St. Peter at Rome.

And yet, with this apostolic epistle from the present pope in their hands, the bishops, who are his chosen agents and representatives in the United States, are *professing* to be the friends of our free and republican government; while their oath of office obliges them to carry out his decree against the liberty of the press and freedom of opinion whenever they can obtain the power, leaving them no alternative but sacrilegious perjury.

Let Protestants read in this encyclical letter of the present pope the denunciations of the apostolical see against the Waldenses, Beguards, Wickliffe, Luther, &c., who are all declared by name to be deservedly anathematized as “sons of Belial,” “the offscour-

ings and disgrace of the human race," "old knaves," "guilty of the most flagitious designs," &c. These are the epithets applied by the pope to Luther, and all who have followed in the Reformation, and against those who were burned at the stake, martyrs to that liberty of conscience against which he fulminated the thunders of the Vatican as lately as *eleven years ago*, for they bear date 1832!

And let American Roman Catholics read the following extract from the bull of Gregory XVI., and compare it with the public protestations of the Romish bishops and priests of the United States, all of whom are sworn to obey *this* pope, and yet declare themselves to be opposed to the union of church and state. Their pope uses the following language:—

"We cannot augur happy results, either to religion or monarchy, from the wishes of those who are anxious that *the church should be separated from the state*, and that the mutual concord of the empire and the priesthood should be torn asunder. For it is certain that these favourers of the *most audacious liberty* do exceedingly fear that *concord* which has ever been *advantageous and salutary* to both religious and civil interests."

Now it is well known, that in England the bishops of this same pope are bellowing forth their hostility to this very union of church and state as exceedingly sinful, which their lord and master here praises as "advantageous and salutary;" while in America his bishops and priests exhibit an outward show of violent opposition to this union, a course which their pope designates as "audacious liberty."

The degree of confidence which can be placed in the professions of Roman Catholics in America, who declare opinions differing from those of the pope, may be estimated by the citation of the creed to which they all subscribe:—

"I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the vicar of Jesus Christ."

And we may also appreciate the similar professions of Romish bishops here or elsewhere, by the oath every one of them has taken, a brief extract from which will suffice:—

"I will be faithful and obedient to our lord, the lord and pope, Gregory XVI., and to his successors." "I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others, his apostolical mandates. *Heretics, schismatics, and rebels* to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will, to my utmost, persecute and beat down; and I will humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. So help me God! and these holy gospels of God!"

Such are the solemn oaths by which every Roman Catholic prelate, here and elsewhere, is bound to carry on the war of Pope Gregory XVI. against freedom of opinion, liberty of conscience, and "the vile, detestable, and never-to-be-sufficiently execrated liberty of the press and booksellers." And by the like oaths they are all bound to observe, with all their might, his decree in favour of the "union of church and state,"—this "concord between the empire and the priesthood."

Surely it cannot be necessary to cite the examples in the history of Romanism, and in the lives of the popes, in which Bibles by thousands have been consumed in common bonfires by priestly and episcopal order, for they are familiar to every reader; and such a bonfire of Bibles has recently been made in the state of New-York, by a Canadian priest. The first bishop of Mexico, as is well known, exhibited his deadly hostility to literature by destroying all the symbolical writings and monuments of art, accumulated by the Mexicans for ages, ascribing them to Satan, and alledging that they savored of heresy. Cisneros, a Spanish inquisitor, by order of the pope, committed to the flames at one time eighty thousand volumes of the most valuable works extant, on all the departments of science. Indeed, the Prohibitory Indexes condemn, by name, the most illustrious authors in every language, anathematizing such men as Bacon and Locke, Milton and Young, Watts and Cowper, Addison and Johnson, with all their books, past, present, and to come. Surely no further proof can be desired of the deadly war waged against literature and the liberty of the press by the Romish Church, or of its continuance to the present hour.

Let us now glance, however, at the most heinous of all the God-provoking and soul-destroying abominations of the Romish Church, in the deadly hostility she has ever shown to the oracles of God, the precious Bible, the last best hope of human liberty, and upon the purity of which, under God, depends the very existence of revealed truth, and the salvation of the world.

We have already seen that the general circulation of the Douay Bible, translated from the Vulgate by Romanists, is not tolerated by the Romish Church; for every one of the versions and translations of the Bible is found in the Index Prohibitorius. Still, however, it must be apparent, that by expurgation and interpolation, popes, councils, cardinals, and Jesuits, can make a Bible to teach every dogma embraced in their "refuge of lies." Indeed, we have authentic proof that *they have done so*, for in the reign of Louis XIV., the Romish Church did authorize the circulation of fifty thousand copies of a French version of the New Testament,

a few citations from which will now be made to sustain the position just taken. The reader will be shocked to perceive, that in this Popish forgery there is *express mention* made of the MASS, of PURGATORY, and of the ROMAN FAITH!! A multitude of similar outrages against the words of the Holy Ghost, wilfully perpetrated by the highest Romish authority, might be furnished from this fictitious New Testament; but the following examples must suffice:—

In the common version, as in the original, we read, "As they ministered unto the Lord;" but this Popish version renders it, "They *sacrificed* unto the Lord the *sacrifice of the mass*!!"

In 1 Tim. iv, 1, where it is said by St. Paul that in "the latter times some shall depart from the faith," this Romish New Testament has it, "depart from the *Roman* faith!"

In 1 Cor. iii, 15, where the apostle speaks of them who are to be "saved as by fire," this French version renders it, "saved by the fire of *purgatory*!"

These specimens of the whole go to show that St. Luke, St. Paul, and the other inspired writers, are all subjected to the same expurgations, falsifications, forgery, and interpolation, which the ancient fathers have received at the hands of Romanism. And Protestants may here see what kind of a Bible, if any, would be employed in Roman Catholic schools if they should succeed in diverting the public school fund from its rightful secular use in the business of popular education, and it should once be committed to these ghostly priests for the propagation of the Romish religion. If Protestants are willing to be *taxed* for having the *mass*, *purgatory*, and the *Romish* faith introduced into the New Testament, and taught in the public schools, "let them speak, or for ever hereafter hold their peace."

Such being the literary policy of Rome in all generations, and with such evidences that the same policy is perpetuated, it would seem to be fit and proper that every citizen of our free country should be fully in possession of the facts, that he may govern himself accordingly. Happily, in Protestant America, we *yet* have liberty of speech, freedom of opinion, and an unchained press. Hence if there be manhood and moral courage among us, the truth ought to be told with all plainness on a subject involving the destinies of our nation, and affecting the interests of the world. There are doubtless those among us so sadly in love with priestcraft, that, in full view of the extent of despotism exercised by the Romish Church, they are prepared to consent to be its slaves, and continue the mere vassals of the foreign potentate who rules in the Papal

see, and arrogantly exalts himself above all that is called God, issuing his laws for the universe. Be it so ; but there are some of us who had rather share the dungeon with Galileo, or die the death of martyrdom, than to relinquish the rights of conscience, the liberty of speech and of the press, so dearly purchased by the blood of our fathers. Sooner shall our bodies be mangled upon a wheel, or borne home lifeless to our families, victims of inquisitorial barbarism, than our necks bow down beneath the yoke of Papal domination : for if our hats are ever removed in token of submission to clerical despotism, either by pope or bishop, our heads must come with them.

But thanks to the God of our fathers, he has set his bow in our heavens, at once the pledge and promise that America shall be free. Here liberty—civil and religious liberty—such as the world never saw, has spread her banner to the winds of heaven, and under its ample folds our country is enjoying the blessed fruits of the glorious Reformation, and rejoicing in the inheritance of that freedom for which the immortal Luther braved the thunders of the Vatican, and defied the vengeance of the pope of Rome, whom till then he had regarded as the father of Christendom. In striking his first blow at the trade of indulgences, that damning mockery of Heaven, he struck a blow for liberty and for man which has ever since been filling the world with the sons of thought, of reason, and of religion ; and here in America we are beginning to appreciate the stupendous benefits of the world's Reformation.

True, when Luther thus lifted his voice for truth and God, his writings were doomed to the flames by the common hangman, and his body to be sent bound to Rome. His intended fate might well be anticipated by that of his fellow-champion for truth, John Huss, the victim of the treachery and bloodthirstiness of the Popish Council of Constance. He was placed in a stone dungeon, three feet wide, six feet high, and seven feet long, and "in this living grave they burnt the true voice out of this world," as has been well said, and choked it in smoke and fire.

But they had not yet conquered the truth of God, burning in Luther's noble soul, though his works were condemned to the flames, and he bound for the sacrifice. His righteous soul, vexed with holy indignation at this outrage upon the majesty of truth, which he prized more than ten thousand lives, burst forth in a strain of withering rebuke, allied to the authoritative tones of inspiration, uttering those deathless words of truth and soberness which awoke the world :—

"These writings, aiming faithfully, as human inability would

allow, to promote God's truth on earth, and to save men's souls,—you, God's vicegerent, answer by the hangman and fire. You will burn me and them, as an answer to God's message we strive to bring you. You are not God's vicegerent, you are another's, I think. I take your bull as an emparchmented lie, and burn it. You will do what you see good next; this is what I do."

And burn this fire decree he did, in the most public place of Wittenberg, and a shout went up into the heavens: it was the shout of the awakening of the nations.

Then to the pope himself he had the lion heart to say, "This thing of yours, that you call a pardon of sin, is a bit of rag paper with ink. It is nothing else. God alone can pardon sins. Standing on this, I, a poor German monk, am stronger than you all. I stand solitary and friendless, one man on God's truth. You, with your tiaras, triple hats, your treasuries and armories, thunders spiritual and temporal—you stand on the devil's lie, and are not so strong."

Verily Luther was the representative of a world lying in bondage beneath a black spectral nightmare, and triple-hatted impostor, calling himself father in God. But he was divinely armed for his high behest; and when he was warned, in view of the fate of Huss, from going to the Diet of Worms, he exclaimed with a martyr's zeal,—“Were there as many devils there as there are roof tiles, I would go on.”

And on he went; and after a two hours' spirit-stirring speech before emperor, princes, Papal nuncios, dignitaries spiritual and temporal, sustained by the world's pomp and power, he proclaimed his undying purpose never to recant, in the following words:—“Confute me, confute me, not by the hangman and fire, but by proofs of Scripture, or else by plain, just arguments. I cannot recant otherwise, for it is neither safe nor prudent to do aught against conscience. Here stand I! I can do no other. God help me!”

This is the man who, under God, won our yet young liberty from the bondage to Rome; which else had, until now, enslaved the human soul, and imprisoned the world. Such firmness, courage, and love of truth, are needed in America to consummate the work begun in Germany two centuries since;—not by persecution or intolerance, for Protestant Christianity will tolerate neither, but will extend to the Romish Church our own liberty—not ours, but the rightful inheritance of universal man. And here the great battle is to be fought, in which Romanism is to die; and when the hoary walls of her Babylon shall fall, and fall they must, then, and

not till then, will civil and religious liberty become the inheritance of the world.

Already this "mystery of iniquity" is tottering to its ruin. Where now are its inquisitions and indulgences, its racks and dungeons, its fagots and fire? In our country they may be sought for in vain, thanks to the Bible and the God of the Bible; for but for this agency, North America would be now what South America is. And even there, as in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Ireland, where Romanism finds its last lingering refuge, it is destined to vanish before the onward march of civilization, which is fatal to the very name of every false religion.

The trepidation and alarm of his holiness, Gregory XVI., the present pope, as betrayed in his last published bull, are but the fruit of the conscious insecurity of the tenure by which he holds his triple mitre. Hence his furious anathemas against "audacious liberty" of conscience, of opinion, and of the press, which he feels must presently be fatal to Rome and her dominion. Hence also his reiterated curses upon Luther and the Protestants for thus endangering his supremacy, and undermining his throne. And though he calls, with uplifted eyes and hands, upon the Virgin Mary, whom he declares to be his "greatest confidence and the whole foundation of his hope;" and though Peter, the prince of the apostles, and his co-apostle Paul, are also the objects of his humble prayers, yet these dead saints happily know no more of his idolatrous worship than do their images in his palace at Rome. And when, last of all, he hopes that Jesus Christ will console him under his manifold apprehensions, we are reminded of certain kindred spirits in the days of the apostles, who attempted to cast out devils, in imitation of the miracles performed by these holy men, and who said to the evil spirits, "In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, we command you to come out;" but the evil spirits answered, "Paul we know, and Jesus we know, but who are you?" and they fell upon them and overcome them. We pray that his holiness, by timely repentance, may escape a similar fate.

D.

ART. III.—*Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy.* By M. STUART, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: Allen, Morrill, and Wardwell. 1842.

THE literary standing of the author of this book very naturally and justly drew to it the attention of those who felt interested in the interpretation of prophecy, in hope of finding a solution of many vexing yet important questions in Biblical exegesis. And the very favorable notices which it has received from the press show, that despite the novelty of some of his opinions, Professor Stuart is regarded as having done much by this treatise to hasten the attainment of an ultimate opinion regarding the exposition of some mysterious prophecies in the Holy Bible. Whether it is to become a standard treatise upon the subject of *Biblical hermeneutics*, or is to pass away with the excitement of the particular occasion which called it forth, remains to be determined.

That this little book has contributed to allay the unhealthy excitement created by the "Miller" theory of interpretation is most certainly true and thankfully acknowledged; but that it furnishes a satisfactory exposition of the book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse is seriously questioned, upon what we deem valid grounds of doubt. This intimation of dissent from the doctrines of the "HINTS" must not however be understood as referring to all that it contains; for we are happy to acknowledge our obligation to the professor for his very able, and, as we think, clear refutation of the doctrine of a "double sense of prophecy." We had earnestly embraced the opinion which our author has so ably argued in the first part of his book, but in the belief of which we have been confirmed since having read this section of his treatise.

The proposition involving this subject is the first of three topics which the author has discussed in the volume before us. We cannot better place before the reader the purpose of this book, than by quoting a paragraph from the author's Introduction, p. 8, in which he says,—

"The subjects of discussion to which I have adverted may be comprised under three distinct heads. The first is the proposition, that there is in many parts of the prophecies an occult, mystical, undeveloped meaning, which renders those predictions occasionally pregnant with a double sense. The second, that some other prophecies have a meaning which is so concealed and obscure, that it can never be discovered until the events take place to which they refer. The third is, that the leading designations of *time* in the book of Daniel and the

Apocalypse, namely, 'a time, times, and half a time,' and 'forty and two months, or twelve hundred and sixty days,' comprise, not the actual period literally named, but twelve hundred and sixty *years*. In other words, the general principle in respect to this third head is, that the *times* named in the two books before us are designed to be understood as meaning, that each *day* is the representative of a *year*."

Although these "principles" of interpretation "have been so current among the expositors of the English and American world, that scarcely a serious attempt to vindicate them has of late been made;"—and though "they have been regarded as so plain, and so well fortified against all objections, that most expositors have deemed it quite useless to defend them," the professor, *deeming* them essentially defective, has made bold to assail them. Now the grounds upon which our author has done this are so democratic and high-minded,—and as, moreover, they will serve for a justification of our dissent from the professor's application of his own rules,—we shall cite the passage in which they are contained.

"Is it lawful and safe, now, to call in question a mode of interpretation so generally admitted, and which has so long been current among us? *Lawful* I think it may be; for the Scriptures have prescribed to us none of these rules, nor have any of the creeds of Protestants dictated anything which binds us to admit them. *Safe* it may be, provided *truth* admits of our questioning such rules; and surely it must be safe, if truth demands that we should reject them, for it is always safe and proper to follow truth. The true and legitimate principles of interpretation depend on no individual man, no sect, no party. They are independent of all parties, else they would be of little or no value. They depend on no niceties of philosophical theories—on no far-fetched and recondite deductions—on no caprice of fancy or imagination. Were they so dependent, they would be of little value even to the learned, and of none at all to the great mass of men who read the Scriptures. The origin and basis of all true hermeneutical science are the reason and common sense of men, at all times and in all ages, applied to the interpretation of language, either spoken or written."—P. 9.

The two quotations now before the reader are sufficient to enable him to comprehend the general purposes of the book, and to appreciate the general method by which they are sought.

We have already expressed our concurrence in the opinion of the author respecting the first of the three topics discussed in his book; and we now add, that we do not see cause of decided dissent from the doctrine of the succeeding section.

We should be happy indeed if we could have agreed with Professor S. in the opinions and illustrations which he has advanced upon the third and last topic of his book. But here we are met

with difficulties, not verbal and unimportant, but such as we judge to be fundamental, and irreconcilable with the truth in relation to the matters in question. This remark, however, regards the *application* of the rules of "*grammatico-historical exegesis*" to a particular case, rather than the rules themselves. For as it regards the *numbers* and *terms* indicative of time, in prophecy, we fully believe with our author, "that the plain and obvious interpretation of *numbers* in the prophecies is to be followed, unless there be cogent reasons for a departure from this rule," (p. 74,) and that "nothing can be plainer, then, than that *usage* in the prophecies, as to *designations of time*, does not differ from ordinary usage elsewhere." —P. 82.

Did the issue which we are about to make with the learned author of this work regard mere questions of philology, we might be induced, by the consideration of his celebrity, to pause; but as the question is one regarding historical interpretation, and as, according to the professor's own admission, "the origin and basis of all true hermeneutical science are the reason and common sense of men, at all times and in all ages, applied to the interpretation of language, either spoken or written," we feel relieved in part of that embarrassment which might arise from a declaration of our total dissent from his interpretation of the seventh chapter of the book of Daniel. We except, indeed, to his exposition of Dan. viii, 14; but it is the special design of this article to examine his explication of that part of Dan. vii, which relates to the *fourth beast* and the *little horn* that came up among the ten horns of that beast. The following passage, found on pp. 83, 84, contains a summary view of the historical matter embraced in this famous prediction, according to the professor's method of exposition:—

"The first passage in Dan. vii, 25, is so clear as to leave no room for reasonable doubt. In verse 24 the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes is described; for the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19–26, as all must concede, is the divided Grecian dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great. From this dynasty springs Antiochus, (ver. 24,) who is most graphically described, in ver. 25, as one who 'shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out (destroy) the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hands, *until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.*' The long, bitter, and bloody persecution of Epiphanes; his persevering efforts to abolish the Jewish ritual, and even to extinguish the religion which the Hebrews professed, and destroy all the copies of the Holy Scriptures which were in their hands, are too well known as historical facts to need any comment here, or any specification. The only question on which anything needs to be said is, How does the result here described, namely, 'the giving up all these things into

his hands,' accord with the time specified, provided the designation of this time be interpreted by the common laws of exegesis?"

The reader will please to notice, that the "subject matter" of this prophecy is brought forward to settle the question of actual time designated by "*a time, times, and a dividing of time*;" that is, that it means three and a half years. Well, we agree to the conclusion; and also that what is said about the character and conduct of Antiochus Epiphanes is true: but we are left to conjecture upon what grounds Professor S. affirms that "verse 24 describes the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes;" and our astonishment is heightened when he adds, "For the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19-26, as all must concede, is the divided Grecian dominion, which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great." Now with due deference to the various learning of the author of the "Hints," we cannot refrain from saying, that we regard this as a very important mistake in Biblical interpretation. Professor S. assumes, for proof is not attempted, that the "fourth beast is the divided Grecian dominion," and thence concludes that the "little horn," whose conduct is described ver. 25, is Antiochus Epiphanes, and then explains the terms indicative of *time* to conform to the history which he supposes is couched under the symbolical language of the prophecy. Will our author admit the soundness of this logic when the conditions of the case are changed? Let it be assumed that the fourth beast symbolizes Papal Rome, and that the little horn signifies the pope, must all concede that this is the true interpretation, and that the *time, times, and the dividing of time*,—the forty-two months, and the twelve hundred and sixty days,—are to be interpreted as meaning so many years, merely because the pope held civil power and abused it for that length of time? Yet this mode of reasoning is admitted by many respectable expositors; but the legitimacy of the conclusion, it must be apparent, does not always make out the truth of the premises.

The error in the supposition, and indeed in the text of our author, lies in supposing that to be true which is not true.

When we first read the paragraph in question, we concluded that here is a typographical error; that seven was printed where eight was intended. But when we saw it several times repeated, and that the whole course of the argument was intended to carry out the opinion, we gave up the idea of verbal error, and concluded that the mistake was, as we are sorry to believe it is, in doctrinal exposition.

Upon the assertion that the "little horn of vii, 25, is Antiochus Epiphanes," and that the "fourth beast is the divided Grecian

dominion," we make the issue, and shall attempt to show that this is not the true interpretation of the prophecy.

Now as no argument is offered in support of the main assertion, we are obliged to meet the question upon general grounds, and suppose we are at liberty to choose our own method of proof. It seems hardly necessary to remind the reader, that the doctrine laid down in the quotation is directly at variance with the language of the prophet, or rather his interpreter, the angel.

He says, Dan. vii, 23, "*The fourth beast shall be the fourth KINGDOM upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces.*" Verse 24, "*And the ten horns out of this kingdom are TEN KINGS that shall arise: and another shall arise after them,*" &c. It will be observed that the *singular number* is applied to the power symbolized by the fourth beast. But there could be no propriety in using the singular number if the symbol is used to represent the "*Grecian dominion in its divided state;*" for *one* it never was, as a Grecian dominion, after its partition by Cassander and his contemporaries: or if it shall be said that it became Rome, and thus was made one, we reply, Then it ceased to be the divided "*Grecian dominion.*" We may remark here, that while we totally disbelieve that the several symbolical representations in the book of Daniel constitute one vision in successive portions, we strongly incline to the opinion that they mutually assist in the interpretation of these several prophecies. This remark applies specially to the second and seventh chapters of the book, and perhaps not less so to the eighth.

How, for example, can you interpret ii, 44, without reference to chapter vii? Who are these "*kings*" in the fourth kingdom, in whose "*days*" the "*God of heaven*" sets up his kingdom? Not a single word is said about *kings* in this prophecy, except in this verse. But verse 44 is an explanation of verse 34, in which it is said, "*Thou sawest till a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces.*" The "*days of these kings*" is therefore an historical indication of the period when Christ's kingdom should be established in the earth. There is a striking coincidence of the historical matter of the fourth kingdom, as symbolized by the "*terrible beast*" of chapter vii, with the matter of the fourth kingdom of chapter ii, which is represented by the "*iron legs.*"

Let the reader turn to ii, 34, 35, 44, 45, and compare what is there said respecting the kingdom of God with what is said of it in chapter vii. In verses 13, 14, it is said that the Son of

man received a kingdom, that all nations, people, and languages should serve him : and about the same time that the desolations of the eleventh horn are made, the kingdom is given to the saints, and his (the horn's) dominion is taken away and consumed unto the end, verses 21-27. Now all these events happened before the *death of the beast*, as foretold in verse 11—the event which constitutes the *terminus ad quem* of this vision. That these obvious parallelisms do not, however, prove identity of prophetic scene and object, is sufficiently shown by the incontrovertible fact, that the period at which the symbolical scene of chapter ii ends, is when the stone strikes the image upon the feet, which, in ver. 44, is said to be “in the days of these kings:”—but the prophetic scene of chapter vii runs on to the period of *the death of the beast*; that is, the breaking up of that kingdom in which this dynasty of kings figured, the last of whom is represented as being a monster of cruelty and impiety.

With this brief collation of events, we are prepared to raise the inquiry, What power is symbolized by the “fourth beast,” and who are “these kings,” the last of whom ends the dynasty with a finale of unsurpassed depravity and presumption?

The *great historical event* upon which all these prophetic lines centre is the *incarnation of Jesus Christ*, here represented (ii, 35, 45) by a “stone cut out of the mountain without hands,” which smote the image, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.”

This we think is an undeniable position; and if so, it follows that we have a sure *datum* from which we may pursue the investigation of the historical events of this prophecy. We think it has been sufficiently shown, that the *smiting of the image*, and the *days of these kings*, were synchronical events; hence the *fourth beast* is Rome, and not the “Grecian dominion in its divided state;” for the “Grecian dominion” had been swallowed up in this ascendant power before the incarnation of Jesus Christ. This *beast* “devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it.” “It reduced Macedon into a Roman province about one hundred and sixty-eight years, the kingdom of Pergamus about one hundred and thirty-three years, Syria about sixty-five years, and Egypt about thirty years before Christ.”†

Here then it is shown, that the last branch of the divided Grecian dominion fell thirty years before Christ; but the “fourth

* That the “stone” symbolizes this great event, see Psa. cxviii, 22; Isa. xxviii, 16; 1 Pet. ii, 4-10; Matt. xxi, 42-46; Rom. ix, 32, 33.

† Bishop Newton on the Prophecies, p. 207.

beast" was not given to be "burned" until some hundreds of years after the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. How then could this "beast" symbolize the fragments of Alexander's dominion, or the "little horn" the person and power of the Syrian king? for, according to the professor's own showing, Antiochus Epiphanes died in the year 164 B. C., p. 92. Our author is not alone, we are aware, in the belief that this mode of interpretation is the true one. The same general exposition is given by Diodoti in his Annotations; (in loc. ;) and Calmet, according to Dr. A. Clarke, sets down the following list, as being the *ten kings* meant by the "ten horns," namely: "1. Seleucus Nicator; 2. Antiochus Soter; 3. Antiochus Theos; 4. Antiochus Callinicus; 5. Seleucus Ceraunus; 6. Antiochus the Great; 7. Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, brother of Antiochus Epiphanes; 8. Laomedon of Mitylene, to whom Syria and Phœnicia had been intrusted; 9. Antigone; and, 10. His son Demetrius, who possessed those provinces—with the title of *kings*."*

The history, therefore, to which our author appeals, however it may throw light upon other portions of Daniel, (and we concede that it is the true interpretation of the *little horn* of Dan. viii, and xi,) utterly fails, as we believe, to answer the question regarding the fourth beast and little horn of chapter vii.

We must be permitted still to adhere to the opinion before expressed, that *the setting up of the kingdom of the Messiah is the great event* of these prophecies, from which we are to proceed in an inquiry into the details of them.

We regret that after having examined, as thoroughly as we are capable, several theories of interpretation of this subject, we have not as yet met with any that secures our confidence in any considerable degree. And after so great learning and abilities have been applied to the investigation of this subject without having secured a tolerable degree of unanimity of opinion, it may appear to some either vain or presumptuous in us to suggest another, and in some respects, so far as we know, new method of exposition. Still, however, we hope for a candid hearing from those who are not already committed to an opinion, in a few thoughts, which, if they were fully investigated, would, it seems to us, conduct us to the desired result.

Let the reader then recur to what has already been said respecting the events of these prophecies—first, that it was during the existence of the *fourth kingdom* that the "God of heaven" was to set up his kingdom; secondly, that it was in that particular period

* Clarke's Commentary on Dan. vii, 7.

of it, denoted by the dynasty of kings, which were symbolized by the "ten horns;" thirdly, that the stone was to strike the feet of the image at a time when *clay was mixed with iron*; and lastly, that the eleventh horn was to end the line of kings foretold by this prophecy—and he will concur with us, we think, in believing that the true exposition of this subject remains to be developed. It is said, ii, 44, "In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up his kingdom." What kings, we ask? All will agree in the answer,—The kings of the fourth kingdom; for it was the symbol of this government that the prophet was now explaining, as may be seen by commencing to read at verse 40. This shows, by historical allusion, when the kingdom of God was to be established.

In verse 34 it is said, "Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces." But what is signified by the *mixture* of iron and clay? The answer is given in verse 43: "And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." This mixture of iron and clay was to denote the elements of dissolution. The *repugnancy* of these elements showed that the *iron age* of Rome had passed away when the "God of heaven set up his kingdom." It was during an incipient decay that the stone smote the image.

Let us now turn to the history of Rome, and ascertain, if we can, in what particular time we are to look for "these kings." None we think will pretend to say that the reference is to the line of kings immediately following Romulus, who laid the foundation of the empire, about seven hundred and fifty years before Christ. This line of kings ended with Tarquin the Proud, five hundred and nine years before Christ, which is obviously too early for "these kings."

With the death of that cruel tyrant terminated the first monarchical form of government at Rome. From this period we date the republican, or iron age of Rome. It will be perfectly apparent that the first kingly government of Rome was too nigh the "thighs of brass;" for the days of *these kings* were down in the feet of the image. The days of these kings, therefore, were subsequent to the period of Roman liberty, or it was during that condition of the empire denoted by the *clay* and *iron*. We are aware that historians date the decline of Rome at a period considerably later than the Christian era; but we must, notwithstanding, be permitted to think that clay was mixed with iron long before the days of Commodus. The very language of verse 44 shows that these days

began before the advent of Jesus Christ, for it was during *their days* that the God of heaven set up his kingdom.

With Augustus, the second Cesar, began the second kingly government of Rome. Now are we not authorized to say, that the general period in which we are to search for the setting up of this kingdom is that embracing the history of the Cesars? In the period of the first kings it could not be; it must therefore have been during the time of this latter monarchy, for besides these two there were no other.

We anticipate an objection that will be made by some, especially those who have embraced the opinions advanced by Bishop Newton, and others of the same school. It will be said that the *days of these kings* was the time of the *ten kingdoms*. What *ten kingdoms*? we beg to inquire. "Why, the ten kingdoms of Daniel." I answer, Daniel nowhere speaks of *ten kingdoms*. "But does he not say that the image had *ten toes*?" No, he does not. He does say it had toes; and the presumption is that it had ten, neither less nor more. "And does not this signify that the fourth kingdom would be divided into ten parts?" No; no more than because the image had two legs it was thereby signified that Rome was always two kingdoms; or because it had ten fingers, that Medo-Persia was, or should be, divided into ten principalities. The toes were merely a part of a *perfect image*, and therefore had no prophetic meaning, any more than the eyes, ears, nose, or fingers of the image. If, indeed, the division had been affirmed of the fact of its having *toes*, the inference in that case would have been plausible, that the number of the parts, when divided, would have been equal to the number of the toes. But the division is predicated of the *clay* and *iron*, and not of the toes, ver. 41.

Professor S., by making the little horn signify Antiochus Epiphanes, seems to us as wide of the true interpretation of this matter as those who make it represent the pope, who, by the by, did not arise until several hundred years after the advent of Jesus Christ. The time of the Syrian king is therefore too early, and the period of the Roman pontiff is too late, for the chronology of these "kings."

Our course of remark, it will be seen, is leading us on to a position, not only at issue with the author of the "Hints," but also with commentators in general. This, however, is not a matter of choice, but the result of honest conviction. And if this avowal of a logical necessity does not save us from criticism, we trust at least that it will screen us from censure.

Cherishing full confidence in the opinion before expressed, that the setting up of God's kingdom, and the rising of the ten horns,

are to be found in the same general chronological period, we shall pause here to look for the general historical detail of this prophecy.

"*The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth, . . . and the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise,*" vii, 23, 24.

It seems unnecessary to enter upon lengthy argumentation, to show that the fourth beast symbolizes Rome, notwithstanding the professor has said, "All must concede that it is the divided Grecian dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great." That the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream represented *four* distinct kingdoms, has not, so far as we know, ever been questioned; nor can we see any sufficient grounds to conclude that the vision of the *four beasts* represents only three kingdoms; that is, as the professor is obliged to suppose, the third or Macedonian empire has two symbols in the same vision, while the other two have only one each. Nor can we imagine what object could be gained by this unequal representation.

Our author says, "For the fourth beast in vii, 7, 8, 11, 19-26, as all must concede, is the divided *Grecian* dominion which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great. From this dynasty springs Antiochus, (ver. 24,) who is graphically described in ver. 25."—P. 83. We are a little at loss to understand this remark. Does Professor S. mean to be understood to say, that Antiochus arose in Macedonia or Greece proper? We suppose not; for certainly he did not, in the proper sense, succeed Cassander, who took this portion of Alexander's kingdom. Antiochus Epiphanes reigned in Syria, and belonged to the dynasty founded by Seleucus, which is symbolized by one of the four heads of the leopard. The *leopard*, and not the "terrible beast," represented the dominion of Alexander; and the *four heads* signified the *four* kingdoms into which the one kingdom of the Macedonian should be broken. But the "*fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon the earth,*" and not the *fourth part of the third empire*.

The conclusion, that this prophetic symbol points us to the Roman government, seems to us to be warranted, independent of the fact, that the general description of the fourth beast is inapplicable to any one branch of the Grecian dominion in its divided state, and to none more so perhaps than the dynasty of Syria, from which Antiochus sprang.

But if we reject the mode of interpretation adopted in the "Hints," what alternative is there but to adopt the principles of the Miller theory, and make the little horn symbolize the pope; and the *time, times, and a half time*, indicative of twelve hundred

and sixty years? We have before shown, in the progress of this investigation, that the *ten kings*, which were on the fourth kingdom, must synchronize with the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the earth.

The question then is, Are there facts which go to support a fulfilment of this prophecy, in connection with the advent of the Messiah, and the early history of Christianity?

I. Our Saviour was born and crucified during a kingly form of government in Rome. The first event occurred under Augustus, and the second during the reign of Tiberias Cesar. These facts would fulfil Dan. ii, 44.

II. Daniel saw ten horns on the beast; afterward there came up another, making in all eleven. The eleventh was a vile blasphemer against God, and persecutor of the saints of the Most High. The imperial government of Rome began with Augustus, the second Cesar,* from whom, to Domitian, the twelfth Cesar inclusive, are *eleven kings*. This fulfils Dan. vii, 24.

III. The character of the little horn is an exact portraiture of Domitian. "He shall speak *great* words against the Most High," are rendered by Symmachus, (Benson's Commentary, in loc.,) "he shall speak great words as the Most High;" that is, assert the attributes of the Deity. A historian says of Domitian, "Conceiving at last the mad idea of arrogating divine honors to himself, he assumed the titles of Lord God, and claimed to be the son of Minerva."† "He caused himself to be styled *God* and *Lord* in all the papers that were addressed to him."‡

"He shall wear out the saints of the Most High." The persecution of the Christians by this enemy of Christ was so cruel, bloody, and systematic, that it is designated as the second of the ten persecutions. It was Domitian who banished the apostle John to Patmos.

"And they shall be given into his (the little horn's) hand, until a time, and times, and a dividing of time;" or, as read in the margin, a *part* of a *time*. We perfectly agree with our author in his exegesis of the phrase, "time, times, and the dividing of time;" that is, "three and a half years and forty-two months—twelve hundred and sixty days." The question to be raised here is, Did Domitian persecute the Christians for three years and a half?

Mosheim, p. 32, says: "The flame broke out anew in the year 93 or 94, under Domitian, a prince little inferior to Nero in wickedness."

* Millman's Gibbon, vol. i, p. 41. † Anthon's Classical Dict., p. 453.

‡ Robbins, vol. ii, p. 22.

In a note upon this passage, (p. 58,) Mr. Murdock informs us that Toinard sets down this persecution as having commenced in the year 94, and Pagi in the year 93. Petavius sets down this persecution as having begun in the early part of the year 93,—his death as having happened on the 14th Kalend of October, vol. ii, pp. 382, 383.

Reckoning back from his death, which occurred Sept. 18th, A. D. 96, for “a time, times, and the dividing of time,” or three and a half years, and you are brought to the early part of the year 93, the time at which Petavius dates the commencement of the second persecution. Here then would be a striking fulfilment of Dan. vii, 25. We cannot conjecture how our author would explain verse 26, upon the hypothesis that the “little horn” of this chapter is Antiochus Epiphanes. The judgment which was to sit was to take away *his* dominion, and utterly destroy it to the end. Now, whether you apply this to the *family* or *kingdom* of the Syrian monarch, in neither case would it be true, either that *his* family was superseded, or his empire broken up at the expiration of the period named; for Antiochus Epiphanes was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator, and his government remained after his death, which happened B. C. 164, till B. C. 65, when it fell under the all-conquering power of Rome.

But the language in question has a most striking fulfilment in the history of Domitian. The days of the Cesars were days of ambition and intrigue for the purple. The favor of the soldiery would carry any man to the throne. It did carry Vespasian, a descendant of an obscure family at Reate, to the highest place of dignity and trust in Rome. The dynasty founded by him was destroyed in less than thirty years. The Flavian family, after giving three emperors to Rome, was expelled from the throne, and, after the death of Domitian, “the senate issued a decree that his name should be struck out of the Roman annals, and obliterated from every public monument.” Thus was *his* dominion taken away, and consumed unto the end. If the emphasis be placed upon the pronoun *his*, and the subject seems to require it, then it was the *dynasty* represented by the “horn” that was to be destroyed, and not the civil kingdom that is prophetically indicated by the 26th verse. This is the more probable, as the death of the beast is distinctly foretold, verse 11; whereas verse 26 foretells what is to happen to one of the “kings that shall arise” out of the beast.

The facts now cited regarding Domitian are a very clear and striking fulfilment of those points in the prophecy, for the illustra-

tion of which they are brought forward. And we very confidently rely upon this mode of interpretation, having shown, as we believe, that the *fourth beast* is Rome, and not the Grecian dominion in its divided state.

Had the author of the "Hints" taken for his text the eighth chapter, verses 5, 8-12, his exegesis and historical illustration would have been just and conclusive; for verse 8 describes the Grecian dominion in its divided state, from the eastern dynasty of which springs Antiochus Epiphanes, who is graphically described in verses 9-12. But the interpretation which the professor has given these verses we cannot otherwise regard than as entirely erroneous.

The last portion of the "Hints" is a brief inquiry into the general purpose of the APOCALYPSE; but regarding certain details of which somewhat more than *hints* are set down concerning the exposition of several symbolical scenes and indications of time.

The paragraph which we are about to quote, obliges us to regard the pages which our author has devoted to the Apocalypse as a synopsis barely of his theory of interpretation of this, to general readers, obscure book. He says,—

"Here is perhaps more difficulty than in the interpretation of Daniel; but still we must travel in the same road as before, and see if we can find solutions which are satisfactory. This I apprehend may be done if we continue to regard only the simple principles of interpretation. But before we undertake to do this, I must beg the reader's attention to a few simple, yet very important, facts, in regard to the tenor and object of the Apocalypse. I cannot here discuss the topics which I am now about to suggest at length, nor attempt the vindication of my views by appeal to all the minute particulars which the book of Revelation exhibits, and which might serve to confirm them. This must be reserved for another work of a more copious nature than the present, and where a more ample discussion than the present would naturally find an appropriate place. I must, however, beg the reader's earnest attention to the following suggestions, and entreat him, at least, to examine and well consider them, before he decides against the views that may be proffered in the sequel."—Pp. 103, 104.

The "suggestions" are,—

"(1.) It lies upon the face of the Apocalypse, from beginning to end, that it was written in the midst of a bitter and bloody persecution of the church."—P. 104.

"(2.) That the things to come to pass are those which are SHORTLY TO COME TO PASS."—P. 105.

These "suggestions" are, in our judgment, well sustained by Professor Stuart, and warrant the following general conclusion:—

"It would seem to follow from the positions thus laid down, that we are at liberty, or rather that we are obliged, if possible, to seek for a

fulfilment of the predictions in the main body of the Apocalypse, within a time which is not far distant from the period when the book was written. If such a fulfilment can be found as coincides with the periods named in the Apocalypse, then what good reason can be offered why we should reject it? Or rather: *Why are we not exegetically obliged to admit it?*"—P. 108.

Now as it regards the scope of the book of Revelation, and the principles by which it is to be interpreted, in the main we agree with the learned author of the "Hints." But so far as he has applied them to certain prophetic symbols, and illustrated the interpretation under them by historical allusions, we esteem him to have erred here not less than in his exegesis of Daniel. And if we have not misjudged of the import of the intimation given in the quotation from page 103, we cannot upon the whole but regard it as unfortunate that the details of this section of the "Hints" were not reserved "for another work of a more copious nature than the present, and where a more ample discussion would naturally find an appropriate place," as it will require more than mere *hints* to secure the universal belief of some of our author's hypotheses, whatever his book may have done to stay the progress of Millerism and Chiliasm.

We now specially refer to the assertion in the following sentence; the capitals and italicising are his own:—

*"The persecuting power of imperial Rome, and specially that power as exercised by NERO, is beyond all reasonable question symbolized by the beast in question."**—P. 115.

Confident language this; but our author seems scarcely to have finished the sentence before his judgment misgives him respecting the truth of the second proposition in the statement; for he says, "*the particular reference to Nero* may not improbably be questioned; and, therefore, a few words in respect to this will not be out of place." That we may not seem to do injustice to our author, we shall quote the following passage, which contains the substance of the argument in support of his theory. Now if these "few words" are only specious and sophistical "words," the illustrations in the pages following will be of no great purpose to his argument, for, being irrelevant, their mere historical accuracy will not affect the true issue. The following is the passage *verbatim et literatim*:—

"To the beast is assigned *seven heads and ten horns*, Rev. xiii, 1. That the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors, (for both

* Revelation xiii, 1-10.

were called βασιλεῖς by the Greeks,) is certain from the explanation given in Rev. xvii, 10: 'the seven heads . . . are seven kings.' But in the language of the Apocalyptist, the beast stands not only as a symbol of the *imperial power* of Rome, generically considered, but frequently for that power as exercised by some individual king or emperor, for example, Nero. Such is the usage in chapters xiii, xvii, and occasionally elsewhere. It is important to note this; for otherwise the reader may be easily misled. Whenever the *beast* is distinguished from the seven heads, it then is employed as a *generic* symbol of the imperial power; but when particular and specific actions or qualities of a personal and distinctive nature are predicated of the beast, it designates the imperial power as individually exercised, for example, by Nero. That Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse, seems to be quite plain from Rev. xvii, 10: 'Five [kings] are fallen; one is; the other has not yet come, but when he shall come, he will continue but a short time.' The *five fallen* are Julius Cesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Of course *Nero* is the sixth; and he is therefore the one *who now is*. Galba, who reigned but seven months, makes the seventh."—P. 115.

The history, criticism, and logic of these "few words" have equally surprised us. The proposition is, "*the persecuting power of imperial Rome, and specially that power as exercised by NERO, is beyond all reasonable doubt symbolized by the beast.*" And how does our author prove it? Why, forsooth, by asserting "that the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors;" and the second proposition is sustained by the assertion that "both [emperors and kings] were called βασιλεῖς by the Greeks;" and this again is proved by an appeal to Rev. xvii, 10, which is quoted in the following manner, namely: "The seven heads . . . are seven kings;" and the whole categoria is confirmed by the historical fact "that Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse." Here, surely, is an array of evidence, before which those more modest than ourselves might reverently bow, but which, whatever imputation may fall upon us for our temerity, fails to make us a convert to the conclusion. We confess ourselves so fully grounded in our author's doctrine that "the origin and basis of all true hermeneutical science are the reason and common sense of men," that we are obliged to dissent from both the conclusion and the conclusiveness of the method by which he has arrived at it.

Admitting then, for the sake of testing the argument, that the Greeks did use the term βασιλεῖς to mean "emperors or kings" indifferently, does it follow that θηριον and κεφαλὰς are used synonymously with βασιλεῖς? Now if the professor had shown this, we should have yielded him our assent. Or if our author had

proved that κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ *seven heads* were identical with κέρατα δέκα *ten horns*, his *usus loquendi* might have been available for his argument; but as the matter now stands we cannot see its relevancy.

If we do not altogether misapprehend the Apocalyptist, he uses θηρίου (*beast*) to represent the civil power or government, whose history he prophetically delineates; and the κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ and the κέρατα δέκα to signify separate and distinct characteristics of the "beast." What these characteristics were historically, we are not now bound to show; it will be sufficient for our purpose to prove that the revelator, John, employs these expressions to represent different things. And if this can be clearly made out, we think it will avail little if anything at all for the professor to say "that the seven heads represent so many kings or emperors," however certain it may be that "both were called βασιλεῖς by the Greeks." But admitting the fact of the synonyme, it will not follow that he is authorized to so explain "Rev. xvii, [9 and] 10," as to make it mean seven regal persons, as he evidently intends his readers shall understand him when he says, "the five fallen are Julius Cesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Of course Nero is the sixth, and he is therefore the one *who now is*."

But what will our author do with the δέκα κέρατα of verse 12? for these are also δέκα βασιλεῖς *ten kings*. Are not these "kings or emperors," that is, regal persons? These added to the seven would make seventeen kings. Why has the Apocalyptist separated them into classes or dynasties? We think that this *hint* is founded upon misapprehension of the text, at least the true exegetical import of it.

We shall pause here for a moment in order that we may trace the symbolical history of ἡ γυνή xvii, 9, who is represented as sitting upon αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαί, which, according to the showing of our author, are used synonymously with βασιλεῖς ἑπτὰ, verse 10. The first clear intimation which we have of this symbolical *personage* is in xiii, 1, and is called ὄνομα βλασφημίας *the name of blasphemy*; ὄνομα being used here in the sense not merely of appellation, but fame or renown, or a *characteristic*. In the progress of the Apocalyptic scene she appears in xvii, 1, πόρνῃς τῆς μεγάλης, *the great whore*; and in verse 3 as a mere γυναῖκα *woman*. But here she is brought to light in her original associations with the "beast," "seven heads," and "ten horns." In verse 4 you see her ornaments:—her filthiness and her idolatries. But in verse 5 you have her ὄνομα,—her characteristics, which are "MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH."

Now let the reader observe that the symbolical scene ends with verse 6, and thence forward to the end of the chapter is a prophetic explanation of the symbols, the last verse of which is in the following language :—"And the (γυνή) woman which thou sawest is that (πόλις ἡ μεγάλη) great city which (βασιλείαν) reigneth over the (βασιλέων τῆς γῆς) kings of the earth." Can any one doubt that this is, or that it was intended by the angel to be, descriptive of Rome—not the *empire*, but the *CITY* of Rome? Let it also be noted by the reader that this vile *symbolical person* is represented, xvii, 1, as sitting upon "*many waters*," which is explained, verse 15, to be "*peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues*."

In xiii, 1, she is described as sitting upon the *heads* of the beast, which, xvii, 9, is explained to mean "*seven mountains*." How our author could find seven *regal persons* in ὅρη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, as is evident he does in the following paraphrase,—"*the seven heads . . . are seven kings*,"—is more than we can conjecture. For let him render καὶ as he will, we cannot see how he can be justified in leaving out a material part of the explanation of the symbol as given by the angel to John, Rev. xvii, 9, 10. The whole sentence, as it stands in the text is as follows :—Αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαί, ὅρη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτὰ εἰσιν.

The freest translation that could be given to the text would not, it seems to us, bear such a construction as our author has put upon it: "*The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth, and καὶ they are seven kings*." If the text were so rendered, we still incline to the opinion that it would not admit of his exegesis. That a *regal* aspect is given to the symbol we admit, but not differing in the sense in which it is ascribed to ἡ γυνή the woman, alias πόλις ἡ μεγάλη the great city, which βασιλείαν reigneth over the kings of the earth, xvii, 18.

It must be apparent that the *great city* can be said to reign over the kings of the earth only by a metonymy of speech, a use of words common in all languages. In the same manner *regal* influence is attributed to the *seven mountains* upon which the woman sitteth, not because they were "*kings or emperors*," but because they sustained the imperial city within whose pale was the seat of a government which βασιλείαν "*reigneth over the kings of the earth*."

We must now pass to notice one other point upon which great reliance seems to be placed for the support of this novel theory of exposition of the Apocalypse. It will be borne in mind by the reader, that, according to the opinion of our author, the *seven heads* are seven veritable "*kings or emperors*," and consequently

as "specific actions or qualities of a personal and distinctive nature are predicated of the beast," the *beast* is not now "a symbol of the *imperial power* of Rome, generically considered," but of "the imperial power as individually exercised, for example, by Nero."

So far as we have now examined the argument, all our author's rules and references seem intended to prepare the way for the following position, namely:—"That Nero was in the exercise of this power when John wrote the Apocalypse, seems to be quite plain from Rev. xvii, 10, 'Five [kings] are fallen, and one is,' " &c.

Believing that the unsoundness of his exegesis has been sufficiently shown in our critique upon our author's exposition of the context, we shall pass at once to the question,—Did Nero hold and exercise imperial power at the time when the Apocalypse was written? The main point in this inquiry is historical, and we hold that it must be settled by evidence of a corresponding nature. But has the author of the "Hints" done this? He has done no such thing, although his theory, as a whole, hangs upon this very question. He has, to be sure, given us several pages of historical matter, portions of which prove that Nero did persecute the Christians for "the often-repeated and peculiar period of three and a half years." But how does this prove "that Nero was in the exercise of this [imperial] power when John wrote the Apocalypse?" For if the Apocalypse was not written until from twenty-five to thirty years after the death of Nero, it will not relieve the main question to show that many facts in the life of that infamous emperor are in correspondence with the delineations of the prophetic scene. When we first read this passage, it appeared so fundamental to the conclusion of the professor, that we naturally, as we now believe justly, expected some conclusive evidence of the truth of the doctrine which it asserts. But we have failed to find it in his book, nor indeed have we found it in any other book. There is as much evidence, so far as we know, that the Apocalypse was written during the reign of Claudius, as that it was written during the reign of Nero.

Mr. Horne says, "The unanimous voice of Christian antiquity attests that John was banished by the order of Domitian. Irenæus, Origen, and other early fathers, refer the apostle's exile to the latter part of Domitian's reign, and they concur in saying that he then received the revelations described in the Apocalypse." He adds: "It has been maintained, on the authority of the subscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, that St. John wrote it in the island of Patmos, in the reign of the emperor Nero, before the destruction of Jerusalem. This opinion is adopted by

Sir Isaac Newton : but it is untenable, for the Apocalypse was not translated into Syriac until the middle of the *sixth* century, and the anonymous subscription is of no force."

Now, as the chief evidence upon which our author has mainly relied is of an exegetical character to prove a purely historical proposition, and having shown that the exegesis itself is unwarranted, we think the assertion of the professor is more than balanced by the authorities quoted. Under these circumstances it will not be deemed incumbent upon us to discuss, at length, the historical issue regarding the time in which the Apocalypse was written. Until, therefore, it is conclusively shown that this famous portion of revelation was written during the reign of Nero, by creditable historical proof, we cannot embrace the theory advocated in the "Hints," the predictions of "soothsayers" and the "sibylline oracles" to the contrary notwithstanding.

There are other portions of the volume before us deserving particular notice ; but as we have already extended this article beyond our first intention, and possibly beyond the convenience of the editor, we must now hasten to conclude our remarks upon it. Our strictures, it will be seen, have been made mostly upon the exposition of Daniel and the Apocalypse ; for it is these portions of the book that we deem to embrace opinions not only erroneous in themselves, but decidedly hurtful to the cause of Biblical interpretation at least, so far as these portions of the Bible are involved, and they principally are concerned in the theory of exposition advocated by the author of the "Hints." The *style* in which this little book is written stands in no need of commendation from us, and to the philological and exegetical rules of interpretation laid down by our author we have made pretty full concessions ; but from the historical conclusions arising from an application of them we do most conscientiously dissent, and must continue to do so until we have more conclusive evidence of their truth than is furnished in the "HINTS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY."

New-York, 1844.

ART. IV.—*The Huguenots: their Origin, Persecutions, and Progress in France;—their Settlement and History in America.*

IN the vast crowd of emigrants who came to this western world at an early period of its history, seeking an asylum from oppression and persecution, none had ever suffered the cruelties or endured the hardships that were inflicted upon the unfortunate Huguenots of France. For more than a century they had borne unheard-of miseries, under the operation of sanguinary laws and edicts, until at length they were forced to desert their fire-sides and their family altars. All Protestants were excluded from public offices, and even their rights as tradesmen and mechanics were abrogated. A Calvinist could not marry a Roman Catholic; and children not older than seven were invited to abjure the faith of their fathers. Chapels were razed to the ground—ministers tormented—schools abolished—property confiscated—and civil officers disfranchised. The rack and the wheel at last commenced their bloody work, and the Huguenots began to leave France for more quiet regions. Their well-known industry and skill made them welcome citizens in every Protestant country. No less than five hundred thousand thus escaped, and found welcome homes in Germany, Holland, and England. The prince of Orange gained whole regiments of soldiers from their numbers: one body reached the Cape of Good Hope: our American colonies received them with open arms: Massachusetts provided them with lands: some repaired to New-York about the year 1720: many of them settled the town of New-Rochelle, thus continuing the name of their own native city: a few located at New-Paltz in Ulster; others repaired to Virginia; but most to South Carolina, whose mild climate more resembled their own delightful Languedoc.

Before we enter, however, especially upon the introduction of the Huguenots into this country, it is proper to review some of the most prominent incidents of their European history.

That true light from above which shone forth in the sixteenth century, suddenly appeared among nations and people distantly separated from each other, in Germany, Switzerland, and France: all these lands received the divine rays from God. Zuingli, the great Swiss reformer, says, "I began to preach the gospel in the year of grace 1516, . . . when the name of Luther had never been heard among these countries. It was not from Luther that I learned the doctrine of Christ—it was from God's word." Both were proclaiming the mighty doctrine once preached by Paul and his

brethren throughout Asia, Greece, and Italy, *justification by faith*; and the joyful sound soon spread over the plains of Saxony, and echoed through the lofty mountains of Switzerland. This doctrine was well calculated entirely to destroy the Pharisaic righteousness of Rome.

In France the Reformation originated on her own soil: its earliest seeds were germinated in the University of Paris, then a strong-hold of Romanized faith, and at the time the principal seat of European learning and Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The German universities themselves were colonies from those of the French capital, and their early statutes begin by lauding the *alma mater Parisiensis*. Among the people of Picardy and Dauphiny the first principles of the great work appeared, before they were manifest in any other country. This is the fact, if we regard dates; and the earliest honors of the Reformation belong to France, although this circumstance has been generally overlooked. Still Luther in zeal, knowledge, and success, was the master spirit of the age; and in its fullest sense he deserves the epithet of the *first* reformer.

Paris had caught the earliest beams of salvation, from which the ever-blessed Reformation was to come forth. Among the doctors of theology who then adorned the French metropolis was Lefevre; and while engaged in a task of collecting the legends of saints and martyrs, a ray of light from on high suddenly flashed into his mind, and abandoning his work, he cast away such foolish fables, and embraced the Holy Scriptures. The new impulse grew rapidly in his heart, and he soon communicated its divine truth to his classes in the university. Christ was preached within its walls; and this early teacher declared, "Our religion has only one foundation, one object, one head, Jesus Christ, blessed for ever: he hath trodden the wine-press alone. Let us not then take the name of Paul, of Apollos, or of Peter. The cross of Christ alone opens heaven, and shuts the gates of hell." He was born in 1455, at Etaples, a small town of Picardy: and Theodore Beza, speaking of him, remarks, that "it was he who boldly began the revival of the holy religion of Jesus Christ. As in ancient times the school of Socrates had the reputation of furnishing the best orators, so from the lecture-rooms of the doctor of Etaples went forth many of the best men of the age and of the church." Another Frenchman, who earnestly embraced the truth, was Farel, which he faithfully declared in his lectures before the faculty of theology at Paris. Bricconnet, an illustrious prelate, who was bishop of Meaux, joined this little circle of pious and free spirits. Seeking instruction, Lefevre directed him to the Bible; and when he had read

the Scriptures, the simple doctrines of SALVATION filled him with joy, and he exclaimed, "Such is the sweetness of that heavenly manna, that it never cloy; the more we taste of it, the more we long for it."

Thus a new era opened in France, and the Reformation commenced its progress with the efforts of these earliest Christian warriors of the sixteenth century. It was not to be confined, however, to the university, or to be an affair of college life; but destined to have witnesses even in the king's court. The celebrated princess Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alençon, and sister to the reigning monarch, Francis the First, was soon a convert to the new faith, and dignified her profession by a pure, religious, and blameless life, amidst the dissolute and literary household of her royal brother. Her ruling passion was to do good; and she sought that peace and rest in the gospel which could not be found amidst the profligate and glittering society surrounding her. Margaret selected for her emblem the *marigold*, which, says Brantôme, the annalist of the court, "in its flower and leaf has the most resemblance to the sun, and, turning, follows its course." Her device was, *Non inferiora secutus*—I seek not things below—"signifying," continues our author, "that her actions, thoughts, purposes, and desires, were directed to that exalted Sun, namely, God,—wherever it was suspected that she had imbibed the religion of Luther."

From anticipations the most bright, the friends of reformed doctrines cheered themselves with the hope that the truth would spread freely, when a sudden and powerful opposition manifested itself. France was to signalize her history by three centuries of stern, bitter, and unholy persecutions against evangelical opinions. In no country have religious reformers met with more merciless opposers than in this kingdom. Louisa of Savoy, mother of Francis the king and of Margaret, notorious for her licentiousness, naturally took side with those who opposed the word of God. Her favorite was Anthony Duprat, a vile and most avaricious character, who by her influence had been made chancellor of the realm; and he took orders with a view to obtain possession of the richest benefices. They were both devoted to the pope, and soon transferred to him the ecclesiastical supremacy of the nation.

The king concluded with Leo X. the memorable concordat, by which they divided between them the spoils of the church; and the supremacy of councils was also annulled and given to the pope. When Francis repaired to the cathedral of Bologna to ratify the infamous treaty, as if sensible of its iniquity, he whispered to one of the attendant courtiers, "There is enough in this to damn

us both." In consequence of these proceedings, and an increasing opposition, the leading reformers retired to Meaux, the residence of Briconnet, a town the first in France where regenerated Christianity found an asylum. The new doctrine made a deep impression upon the people, and the gospel was freely proclaimed in the churches.

Lefevre, in 1524, published a French translation of the New Testament, and the following year a French version of the Psalms. Many received the Scriptures from his hands, and read them in their families; and the word of God here, as in the countries beyond the Rhine, produced the happiest effects. The bishop of Meaux, through Margaret, sent to the king a translation of St. Paul's Epistles, richly illuminated, adding, "They will make a truly royal dish, of a fatness that never corrupts, and having a power to restore from all manner of sickness. The more we taste them the more we hunger after them, with desires that are ever fed and never cloyed."

The fires of persecution now began to rage more violently against this new sect. John Leclerc was the first martyr of the gospel in France. He was the pastor of the church at Meaux, and wrote a proclamation against antichrist of Rome, which enraged the priests, and made the Franciscans furious. The religion of Romanism is a different thing from the religion of God: the latter refers to the truth as he has given it for man's salvation; the former was devised by the priest, for his own advancement, and that of his church. No wonder then that a terrible example should be made on this occasion: the Romanists loudly demanded it. Leclerc was seized and whipped through the streets of the city three successive days, and then branded as a heretic with a heated iron on his forehead. But the martyr uttered not a groan, and he was again set at liberty. He then withdrew to Metz, where more awful sufferings awaited him; and again in the power of his enemies, they cut off his right hand, and tormenting him with red-hot irons, he was at last consumed by a slow fire. During all these horrid tortures his mind was kept in perfect fidelity and peace, and he ejaculated solemnly, "*O Israel, trust thou in the Lord; he is their help and their shield.*"

In the city of Nancy human blood also was shed, and the blow fell upon a faithful pastor, named Schuch. The confessor, before whom he was examined, cried out, "Heretic! Judas! devil!" but the prisoner, making no replies to these insults, held in his hand a little Bible, and meekly confessed Jesus Christ and him crucified! When called upon at the stake to recant, he refused, saying, "Thou

God hast called me, and thou wilt strengthen me to the end ;” and he began to repeat the fifty-first Psalm, which he continued to recite until the smoke and flames destroyed his voice. In the forest of Livry, three miles from Paris, lived a poor hermit, who had embraced the truth of revelation. Soon he became a faithful missionary to the cottages in all the neighboring districts, declaring that pardon which the Scriptures offered to the sinner, and infinitely more blessed than any priestly absolution. The new evangelist was seized, brought to judgment, and sentenced to be burned by a slow fire. To render the example the more striking, the victim was executed before the celebrated cathedral of Notre Dame, and there, bare-headed and with bare feet, thus degraded, he suffered his sentence, refusing to recant, by declaring that he was resolved to die in the faith of his Lord Jesus Christ ! The Romish doctors, who stood foremost among the spectators, perceiving the effect which his Christian constancy excited upon the surrounding multitude, cried aloud, “ He is a man foredoomed to the fires of hell.”

These were among the first confessors of Jesus Christ, who suffered and died in France, and therefore demand the especial notice we have thus extended to their precious memory. But the cruel persecutors were not satisfied with the flames that had consumed Leclerc, Schuch, and the hermit of Livry ; a system of terror now began over the whole of France. In vain, however, did the parliaments watch, and the monks invade churches, colleges, and even private abodes, to discover evidences of evangelical doctrines : vainly did the *gens d’armes* guard the highways to intercept the communications between the reformers : the glorious march of the Reformation was onward and sure. France had now been baptized with the blood of holy martyrs !

The scaffold, the rack, and the stake having been thus erected for the preachers of a pure gospel, many of those noble heralds sought refuge in Switzerland, and imparted a new impulse to the work, already spreading among the confederated cantons. How strikingly beautiful was this catholic character of the Reformation ! The German preachers journeyed into Switzerland, and the French to Germany. Both had the same great object in view ; with them there was one faith, one spirit, one Lord. A French church was established in the city of Basle, whose members had escaped from death and the persecutions at Lorraine. The presses in that town sent forth evangelical works into France, and among them Luther’s *Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*. These useful books were circulated through Burgundy and the adjacent districts by certain dealers, or *colporteurs*,—pious, but poor men, who went from

house to house selling their holy burdens. Such efforts were made as early as 1524 in Basle, and Bibles and tracts distributed by a class of humble, evangelical laborers, similar to those who are at this moment doing so much good among the peasantry of modern France.

In 1525 Francis First, the king of France, became the prisoner of the emperor of Naples at the battle of Pavia, and the kingdom was without a monarch. Amidst this great misfortune he comforted himself by repeating, "*Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur !*"—"All is lost except honour !" but Margaret, his pious and royal sister, to whom the event was most affecting, exclaimed, "*Fors Jesus seul, mon frere, fils de Dieu*"—"Save Jesus alone, my brother, Son of God !" This calamity, overwhelming the state in consternation, was charged, as were similar disasters in the earliest history of the church, upon the Christian sect, and fanatics demanded their blood to avert further misfortunes. Such were resolved to take advantage of the popular panic, for the extirpation of a power which had now become formidable to the Papacy. The parliament presented an address to the queen mother, in which they said, that "heresy has raised its head among us, and the king, by his neglecting to bring the heretics to the scaffold, has drawn down upon us the wrath of Heaven." Louisa accordingly wrote to the pope, and this pontiff, having failed to arrest the heresy in Switzerland and Germany, gave instant direction for the establishment of the infernal Inquisition in France, "the most Christian kingdom." A bull to this effect was dispatched to the parliament, which body issued its edict for the trial of persons "tainted with the Lutheran doctrine ;" and, if found guilty, they were to be "condemned to the flames."

Bricconnet, the bishop of Meaux, was the first elevated person who was accused and convicted. Monks, priests, and doctors, beset him to retract rather than suffer martyrdom—"in the name of religion, country, friends—nay, even of the Reformation itself—consent !" they entreated him. These sophisms unfortunately prevailed ; and thus fell the earliest defender of the gospel in France, and by his recantation darkened the glory of a former fidelity. Lefevre was arrested next, but escaped to Strasburg, where he found safety among other refugees from his own country.

How different was the conduct of Martin Luther, the Augustine friar, from that of the bishop of Meaux ! How disinterested and how noble ! He ventured to preach against the sale of indulgences, a traffic which the voluptuous Pope Leo X. had authorized throughout all the Christian kingdoms. Luther's holy indignation was aroused by these absurd impieties, and he attacked the pope

with the heart of a lion, boldly denouncing him as the man of sin, or antichrist, predicted in the Apocalypse. The Papal throne began to tremble, and Leo, by a bull, condemned the tenets and the writings of the German reformer, and ordered his works to be burned. In return, the intrepid Luther burned the pope's bull, with his decretals, before an immense multitude, at Wittenberg, in 1520, and the Reformation began to make rapid progress. A bronze statue erected to his memory still stands on this very spot, where he kindled the fire which has never been extinguished.

In Saxony mass was soon universally abolished, idol images destroyed, convents shut up, and Luther himself took a nun for his wife. Notwithstanding all his persecutions, he was permitted to die a natural death, and in his last moments he sealed the truth of his doctrines with these remarkable words: "O my heavenly Father, though I must leave this body of clay and depart this life, I know for certain that I shall remain for ever with thee, and that nobody shall pluck me out of thy hand."

Switzerland also advanced in the path of religious reform; and the new doctrines were now approaching toward Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. In France the hallowed flame continued to spread, notwithstanding the frequent decrees of the parliament of Paris and the anathemas of the Vatican against Protestant preachers. John Calvin had now commenced his pious labors, and sent able ministers from Geneva to build up the infant Gallican Church. This intrepid French reformer was educated in the Church of Rome, but embracing the new doctrines, he separated from her communion, and fled to Switzerland in 1534, thus escaping the persecuting sword. He was called to the charge of the Protestant congregation at Geneva, and was the first who gave their doctrines a systematic form by his well-known *Institutes*. Calvin enforced his tenets there laid down by the establishment of synods, consistories, and deacons, which were also adopted by the reformers of France, and the Presbyterians of Scotland and England. "*Consumo non consumo*" was the device of their official seal, taken from the vision of Moses, when feeding his flock under the mount of God,—a bramble bush in a flaming fire, with JEHOVAH engraved on its centre, and the motto upon its circumference. What a sacred and beautiful emblem of their past and present condition!

The Bible was translated into French by Olivetan, an uncle of Calvin, and a minister in the Piedmont valleys, and it was read among their congregations and solemn assemblies. Clement Marot, a courtier of great genius, translated fifty of the Psalms also into metre; Beza the other hundred, and Lewis Gaudimel, a skil-

ful master, composed those simple and sweet tunes to which they are sung until this day.

These early Christians were then called Sacramentarians, and assembled for religious worship within the very walls of Paris; and the music of Marot's psalms was heard from the streets and lanes of the great city. In the midst of perils, opposition, and executions, the first national synod was called at the metropolis of the kingdom. This council published to the world their confession, which was entitled, "The Confession of Faith held and professed by the Reformed Churches of France, received and enacted by their first National Synod, celebrated in the city of Paris, and year of our Lord 1559." These churches embraced multitudes of exemplary members and of faithful martyrs, more so than any other Reformed churches in Europe. Beza presided over the national synod at Rochelle in 1571, when the reformers could count more than twenty-one hundred and fifty churches, many of them having over ten thousand members; most had two ministers, and some five. In 1581 their martyrs were computed to have numbered over two hundred thousand! Only twenty-seven years after the synod of Rochelle, in 1598, their flourishing churches had been reduced to seven hundred and six!

Against this rapidly-increasing sect of reformers, which had now received the appellation of Huguenots, Henry II. swore eternal vengeance; but the lance of Montgomery, at a fatal tournament, (1559,) quickly removed this scourge of the people of God from his throne and the world!

The epithet of Huguenot has been a subject of much discussion. When we read of the French Protestants under the names of heretics, *Prétendus réformés*, Calvinists, and occasionally only Protestants, each of these designations conveys its own meaning; but *Huguenot* is an obscure word, both in its etymology and the exact period when it was first generally applied.

Marshal Montluc, who took an active part in the religious wars of France, says, in his *Commentaries*, "They were so called, I know not why." Subsequent writers and critics have advanced the following, which are the principal versions:—

1. *Hugon's tower* at Tours, the place where the early Protestants secretly assembled for religious worship. D'Aubigné mentions this.

2. *Heghenen*, or *huguenen*, a Flemish word equivalent to Puritans, or *καθαροί*. The Albigenses were called Cathares for the same reason.

3. Verdier says, in his *Prosopographie*, "Les Huguenots ont

été ainsi appelés de Jean Hus, duquel ils ont suivi la doctrine ; comme qui dirait les *Guenons de Hus*.*

4. Coquille, *Dialogue sur les causes des misères de la France*, derives it from Hugues Capet, whose posterity was supported as belonging to the line of the Bourbon princes against the Guises.

5. The commencement of their petition to the cardinal of Lorraine—" *Huc nos venimus, serenissime princeps.*"

6. *Heus quenaus*, which signifies, in the Swiss patois, a seditious people.

7. One *Hugues*, a Sacramentarian, is said to have originated this epithet.

8. *Huguenote* was the name of a common earthenware or iron stone, which derivation is not impossible, from the fact that so many early Huguenots perished in the flames. La Furetiere states, in his dictionary, that this utensil was so called because the Huguenots used it for dressing their meats secretly on fast days.

9. Benoit, in his "History of the Edict of Nantes," observes, that some supposed the term had originated from an incorrect pronunciation of the word *Gnostic*.

10. The most generally received etymology is traced to the word *Eignot*, derived from the German, *Eide-genossen*—federati, or allied. There was a party thus designated at Geneva ; and the French very probably adopted a term which applied so well to themselves. Voltaire favors this opinion.

In the present essay we shall use the appellation of Huguenots, Calvinists, or reformers, as referring to the same body—the Protestant, evangelical party in France.

At this period (1561) Jane d'Albeet, queen of Navarre, became a zealous Huguenot. She was mother of the celebrated Henry IV. of France, and, with the Protestant nobility, encouraged the reformed clergy to preach in the open air, without the walls of Paris. Assemblies of thirty or forty thousand would thus congregate to hear divine truth, in a manner similar to modern field preaching. They divided themselves into three bodies, the women occupying the middle, surrounded by the men on foot, and these again encircled by others on horseback, while soldiers guarded the avenues to prevent disturbance during the sermon.

Pope Pius IV. then directed the politics of the Vatican, and excommunicated several prelates in France who had manifested tolerant feelings. He even cited the queen of Navarre to give an

* The Huguenots were thus called after John Huss, whose doctrine they followed : as much as to say, the she apes of Huss, (*Guenon* meaning a she ape.)

account of her faith, and in case of refusal the haughty pontiff declared her convicted of heresy, fallen from royalty, and deprived of her estates ! So great was the indignation manifested on account of this rude attack on a crowned head, that the king of France had to interfere, and the pope was compelled to withdraw his bull.

Henry, the royal persecutor, had been taken away, and the Protestant party looked for some favorable change in their affairs ; but their hopes were disappointed, for in the succeeding reign of Francis II. the religious disputes assumed a more serious aspect than ever, and open hostilities commenced from an event which occurred at the town of Vassy, in 1562. Here the Huguenots were engaged in prayer outside of the walls, agreeably to the king's edict, while the duke of Guise, the celebrated Popish leader, was passing by with a numerous escort. Some of his train having insulted the worshipers, both parties soon came to blows. Guise's men, sword in hand, fell upon the assembly, and a general massacre of the inhabitants ensued—the women, children, and aged persons being the first victims : two hundred were wounded, and sixty killed. Most Catholic writers treat this outrage with shameful indifference ; but it was the occasion of a savage, bloody strife, which followed, called the second war, and was continued several years.

Orleans was taken by the Protestants, and Queen Elizabeth of England sent six thousand troops to their aid. Conde and Coligny commanded the Protestant armies, and the Triumvirs the Catholic, each ten thousand strong. Both parties committed fearful excesses, (1563,) too often emulating each other in cruelty and violence. Rouen was taken by storm, and pillaged by the duke of Guise ; but the victory cost the king of Navarre his life, who was fatally wounded in one of the trenches ; and a writer of the day says, that he died regretting his having embraced Romanism.

In these contests the Huguenots were led by the celebrated and brave Coligny and the prince of Conde, illustrious names in the early persecutions of which we are speaking. Coligny, in 1560, had presented to the king a petition from the Calvinists of Normandy for the free exercise of their faith. He was the first nobleman in France who ever boldly professed himself a Protestant and the patron of the Protestants. When the prince of Conde publicly embraced Christianity, many persons of rank followed his example ; and in a short time audiences of fifty thousand might be seen assembled in the Faubourgs to hear evangelical preaching. Guise headed the Popish forces : he was a powerful adversary, and styled by the Parisian populace, the "defender of the faith."

France at this time presented a most melancholy picture. Towns were taken and retaken: when the Huguenots triumphed, they destroyed altars and images, and the Catholics in their turn burned all the Bibles they could seize. Such were the effects of fanaticism on both sides. To assert that the excesses were only committed by one party would be untrue, and that some of our race were allied to angels; but we hazard nothing in saying, that the reformed, in almost every instance, resorted to arms from motives of self-preservation. The most horrid brutalities were inflicted upon the Protestants: husbands and fathers were stabbed in the arms of their wives and daughters; and aged magistrates, who had been murdered, were dragged through the public streets, and thus insulted after death by a blood-thirsty populace. Guise was assassinated (1563) in his camp, by a fanatic named Poltrot, who declared before his execution that he committed the act solely by divine inspiration. The duke regretted on his death-bed the massacre of Vassy, and his dying advice to the queen mother was in favor of tolerant measures. Catharine was evidently so disposed herself, and seized this favorable opportunity for a general reconciliation among her distracted subjects. Guise's death, too, put an end to the Triumvirate, a detestable league formed by himself and a few others early in her reign to exterminate the heretics, and her authority became again supreme. Peace was once more restored, and intestine commotions in France for a time ceased, although Calvin and Beza, with other ministers, reproached Conde for conceding too much to their enemies. This prince, now surrounded by the snares of the artful Catharine, was highly honored at her voluptuous court, and he thus became an easy prey to her intrigues. In like manner were the Huguenot noblesse beguiled, the queen hoping to lull them into security, and thus the more easily prepare them for her secret and perfidious designs.

Notwithstanding all these professions of the French court, the liberties of the Protestants, secured by various edicts, were constantly infringed. Twice was the life of Coligny secretly attempted, but providentially preserved; and both parties, before long, again displayed the banners of war, which, as usual, was terminated by the enactment of some new treaty.

Among these last contests the battles of St. Denis and of Jarnac stand foremost. In the former the combat was most unequal, for the royal army numbered over twenty thousand infantry, while the confederates had only two thousand and seven hundred. The field and spoils remained to the Catholics, but they lost many of their valuable officers, with Montmorency the constable, their general.

In the long military career of this brave but bigoted leader, the victory which cost him his life was the only one he gained. Whether at home, on horseback, or in the midst of the troops, he would repeat his pater-nosters; and while thus engaged, as the occasion demanded, he would command, "Go hang up such a one; run him through with the pikes this instant; cut in pieces those vagabonds who wished to hold out that church against the king; burn me that village," and such like sentences of blind devotion and of war. Hence originated the saying, *Take care of the constable's pater-nosters*.

No less unfortunate to the Huguenots was the hard-fought battle of Jarnac on the 13th of March, 1569, in which their forces, consisting of six or seven thousand men, contended with an army four times as strong. During the fight, Conde, the Protestant general, displayed remarkable courage. Twice wounded, he continued to command, crippled as he was, until his horse fell under him, when he was removed to a neighboring hedge, and shot through the head by a captain of the duke of Anjou's guards, who was passing by at the time. His body was borne by an ass through the Catholic army, as an object of derision to many who before had trembled at the mention of his name. Such was the end of Louis of Bourbon, prince of Conde, a distinguished, brave, and skilful leader of the reformers. His mother, the queen of Navarre, even sold her rings and jewelry to aid the Protestants in these struggles. She caused the New Testament to be translated and printed at Rochelle; and, abolishing Popery, established the reformed faith in her dominions.

Pope Pius V. had now assumed the pontificate, and very soon interfered in Gallican affairs. He directed the queen mother to dismiss heretics from her councils; and nullified the royal edict which tolerated the reformers in their religious services out of cities. France became the theatre of his most persevering, and eventually his most sanguinary operations. Having anathematized Cardinal Odet de Coligny, bishop of Beauvais, and brother of the admiral, as a heretic, he was deposed, on account of marriage, which an apostle declares honorable to all.* He promulgated the celebrated and infamous bull, *In Cæna Domini*, which is probably

* The Abbe de Choicy, in his Ecclesiastical History, gives the names and titles of six more bishops who were also deposed. An illustrious band! their names deserve to be preserved—Jean de St. Chamand, archbishop of Aix; Montluc, bishop of Valence; Carrioli, bishop of Troyes; Louis d'Albret, bishop of Lescar; Barbanson, bishop of Parniers; and Charles Guillart, bishop of Chartres.

the boldest invasion upon the rights of Christian sovereigns ever issued from the Vatican, and stands unrepealed to this day.

The pontiff exulted greatly upon the defeat of the Huguenots at Jarnac, and has left seven letters written on the occasion, which remain terrible monuments of his unholy zeal. In the first, to the king, "his very dear son in Christ," he tells him, that he gave thanks to God for his great mercy upon the defeat of the heretics, and the death of their chief. To the queen mother he reiterates, in another, that "the anger of God can only be appeased by just vengeance for the insults offered to him;" and recommends that his enemies should be "*massacred*,"* and "*totally exterminated*."† He addresses the duke of Anjou, the victorious leader of the battle, and the cardinal de Lorraine, in the same strains of revenge and hatred. No note or comment is here necessary. The holy father did still more on this joyful occasion,—a medal having been struck, representing him uncrowned and kneeling, returning thanksgiving to Heaven for the triumph. Twelve standards of the vanquished were sent to him by the king, and were suspended in St. Peters, at Rome.

No pontiff, unless perhaps we except Innocent III., his predecessor, ever caused the Protestant world so much sorrow as Saint Pius V. The Inquisition was literally his nursery and school, and his exertions were unbounded and unwearied against Christianity, which he esteemed heresy.

Coligny, with his customary foresight, feared the treachery and duplicity of the imperial court; and hence, with an invention fruitful in resources, he determined, about this period, to secure for his persecuted friends a place of refuge in case of need. He did not think it sufficient that Rochelle and other towns in the hands of the Huguenots were well fortified, but looked to this new world for safety and a home. In 1555 he attempted a settlement at Brazil, with some French Protestants of Geneva, joined by others from Paris and Lyons; and the next year fourteen missionaries were sent from that town to plant the Christian faith in those distant regions of America. They were received at first with great joy. A congregation was soon formed; but through the perfidious conduct of the chevalier de Villegagnon, who led the expedition, the pious enterprise failed. The few emigrants who remained were massacred in 1558 by the Portuguese.‡

To Florida next, as the whole region of North America was then called, he directed his attention, and dispatched two ships, under the

* Ad internecionem.

† Delitis omnibus.

‡ Hakluyt's Voyages.

command of John Ribault, a bold sailor and a Protestant, who was accompanied by some of the young nobility, and a body of veteran troops. In the month of May, 1562, the squadron reached our shores, and the emigrants landed probably about where Charleston, South Carolina, now stands, the precise spot being, at this day, a subject of doubt. Erecting the standard of France, they built a fort on a fertile island, naming it Charles, in honor of Charles IX., who had just ascended the throne. Their harbor they called Port Royale. Ribault left twenty-six of his party under the command of one Captain Albert, and returned home for supplies. The adieu, which we gather from an old chronicle, is touching, from its very simplicity:—"Having ended his exhortation, we tooke our leaves of *each* of them, and sayled toward our shippes, calling the forte by the name of Charles, and the river by the name Chenonceau. Wee hoysed our sales about ten of the clocke in the morning. After wee were ready to depart, Captain Ribault commanded to shoote off our ordinance, to give a farewell unto our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, wee sayled toward the north."*

In the mean time civil war had been kindled afresh all over the kingdom, under the auspices of that incarnate devil, Catharine, the queen mother, and the admiral was unable to send out the promised reinforcements and aid to the little settlement at La Caroline.

The situation of the colonists became precarious. On one occasion their fort, dwellings, and granary were all destroyed by fire at midnight; and more than once famine threatened them with its horrors. Albert was killed, while hunting, by Lachane, one of his soldiers, whom he had banished to a neighboring desolate island for some trivial offense, and his violent death appears to have been produced by his own cruelties and oppression. Nicholas Barré was chosen as his successor, who restored harmony among all parties. But they lost hope, and now resolved to return home in a "small pinnesse," constructed with their own hands. But how could they provide sails and tackle? Hear the chronicle, to which we have before referred:—"That good God which never forsaketh the afflicted did succor them in their necessities." Two of the neighboring Cassique Indians brought them cordage; the pine trees furnished rosin, and others moss, to caulk their vessel. "There

* "A Notable Historie, containing four Voyages made by certaine French Capitaines into *Florida*, by Monsieur Laudonniere." This is now a very scarce work, and is to be found in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. I copy from the London edition, printed in 1600.

now wanted nothing but sayles, which they made of their owne shirtes and of their sheetes."

Thus provided, the adventurers put to sea in their frail bark, and for three weeks only sailed five and twenty leagues. Provisions failing them altogether, they were forced to consume their shoes and leathern jackets. When these also gave out, and starvation in its most awful forms stared them in the face, Lachane, who had destroyed himself by his own hand, became the victim for the support of his famishing comrades. By this painful and horrid self-sacrifice of a brave man, the party was supported until a small English bark boarded and relieved them. The most feeble were landed upon the coast of France, and the others conveyed to the queen of England, who received them with great hospitality. Thus ended the first attempt of the Huguenots to settle a Christian colony in North America, a century before it was occupied by the English.

Coligny, undismayed by these disasters, dispatched three ships the following year on a second voyage to Florida. Rene Laudonniere, who had served under Ribault in the former, and a man of great intelligence, was appointed commander of this expedition. In 1564 the fleet reached their destination, and although the place of former settlement was discovered, it was now avoided, and the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and crowned a monument, bearing the arms of France, with laurel, and encircled its base with a basket of corn. Patriotism and religion doubtless prompted the voyage; still mutinies were frequent among the emigrants, and some were even guilty of piracy against the Spanish, who had also occupied the coast. Famine again threatened the adventurers: the confidence of the natives too was lessened, and the party, when just on the eve of re-embarking for France, descried strange sails, which proved those of Ribault, who had now arrived with powerfvl reinforcements of supplies and men.

The Huguenots were not permitted, however, long to retain quiet possession of their newly-discovered abode. That proud and bigoted Romanist, Philip II., could not brook the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the vicinity of his American provinces; and he ordered Pedro Melendez, long accustomed to scenes of blood in the wars against the Protestants of Holland, to Florida, with a large force of soldiers, priests, and Jesuits. His name and objects having been demanded upon his arrival, "I am Melendez of Spain," was the reply, "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare: every heretic shall die." A dreadful scene

of carnage ensued. Nearly two hundred persons—including children, the aged, and the sick—were butchered on the spot. Ribault and some others escaped to sea, when their whole fleet was driven ashore near St. Augustine, in a gale, when nine hundred more were murdered, not as “Frenchmen, but as Lutherans.” The French court beheld these horrid atrocities with apathy; but the Huguenots did not share in the same feelings of indifference. Dominic de Gourgues, a soldier of Gascony, to revenge the wrongs of his countrymen, fitted out an armament against the Spanish forts in Florida. Two of these, occupied by eight hundred men, he surprised, when he hastily returned to Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, placing over them this inscription: “I do not thus as unto Spaniards, or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers.” And here terminated the earliest efforts of these persecuted Protestants to find an asylum in this western world. What seas of blood might have been saved under Charles IX. and Louis XIV., if these bigoted monarchs had encouraged and protected these distant retreats for their persecuted subjects! Here myriads would have flocked; and, like the ancient Israelites, have left their own lands for the wilderness, where they could, unmolested, worship the almighty God, the supreme Sovereign of all.

To follow our subject in the natural order of history, Charles IX., an apt son of the crafty and intriguing Catharine de Medici, had now attained his majority, and was on the throne. With his mother, he entertained the most bitter enmity toward the Huguenots. She was the actual mistress and ruler of the kingdom; an Italian not more in lineage than in her subtilty and cunning. Unrestrained either by religion or humanity, she resolved to strike a bold and decisive blow against her Protestant subjects. Open violence had not succeeded: she now resorted to treachery and deceit.

By the peace and treaty concluded at St. Germain in August, 1570, their rights had been greatly restored; their confiscated property returned, and the exercise of their religion permitted in the suburbs of two towns in each province. To secure the faithful observance of the treaty, the Protestants were allowed to hold Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, which places, on oath, they were to surrender at the end of two years.

Every effort was made to allay the suspicions of the Huguenot nobility. Coligny, the chief of their association, or, as he was generally styled in his day, the “Admiral of Chatillon,” was invited to court, and Charles, the king, consulted him upon all affairs of state, and the management of the Belgic war. To his counsel

and influence also especially were committed the two young Protestant princes of the blood, Henry, king of Navarre, and his cousin, the prince of Conde. And to consummate, as it was pretended, the reconciliation of the two religions, the court proposed a marriage between Charles's sister Margaret and Henry, the young king.

The queen of Navarre left Rochelle, where she had been usefully superintending the schools which had been established there, and reached Blois, then the residence of the court. She reluctantly consented that the nuptials should take place at Paris, and the articles were accordingly drawn up and signed. This excellent royal and Christian lady, however, did not live to witness the sorrowful scenes of that occasion, for she suddenly died, and the cause of her death remains a mystery to this day. An opinion prevailed at the time that she was poisoned by gloves presented to her, which was not at all surprising, such was the vice and depravity of that period. Perefice himself, the archbishop of Paris, declares that there never was a more corrupt court. "Impiety, atheism, necromancy, most horrible pollutions, black cowardice, perfidy, poisonings, and assassinations," reigned there. This sudden and melancholy event alarmed many, and caused some Protestants of rank to retire from the capital, and among them the baron de Rosny, father of the illustrious Sully, who had several times declared of the marriage, "If it takes place in Paris, the wedding favors will be crimson."

Invitations to the royal nuptials were sent to the most distinguished Huguenot lords and gentlemen throughout France. Unsuspicious of danger, and especially upon such a joyful occasion, they flocked to Paris, so that by the middle of August the capital had collected within its walls most of the leading Protestants of the kingdom. On the 18th day of that month the ceremony was celebrated on a platform before the church of Notre Dame, and in the presence of a royal and splendid company from both religious parties. During the four succeeding days all Paris was occupied with fetes, ballets, and other gayeties.

Coligny, while returning from an interview with the king, on the 22d, was suddenly fired upon, and severely wounded, by one Maurevel, well known then as the *king's assassin*.

Up to this time there is reason to believe that Charles had not been informed of his mother's plan to assassinate the admiral, as he forthwith visited the old man, and swore that he would be avenged on the bold ruffian with a "vengeance never to be effaced from the memory of man." Catharine, however, sanguinary and

bent upon her purposes of destruction, soon turned these royal professions of friendship into a hatred bitter as gall, until the perfidious monarch with an oath declared—"The death of the admiral, the destruction of the whole party within the bounds of France!" The names of the Protestants were now secretly taken down, and white crosses marked upon the doors of their devoted dwellings, as the awful hour of destruction and of death approached. It finally came; and the signal for the murderers to fall upon their victims was the great clock of the Palace of Justice. As the bell pealed forth its solemn sounds, usually for public rejoicings, but now at the silent and unusual hour before daybreak, the work of slaughter commenced. It was Sunday morning, August 24, 1572. The veteran Coligny had the immortal honor of becoming the first martyr to the holy cause. Having been informed of his danger, he said, "I never was afraid of death, as I have long since prepared myself for it. I bless God I shall *die in the Lord*, through whose grace I am elected to a hope of everlasting life. I now need no longer any help of man. . . . The *presence of God*, to whose goodness I recommend my soul, which will presently fly out of my body, is abundantly sufficient for me." A band of ruffians rushed into his chamber, while the young duke of Guise, to whom was committed the foul business, waited at the door. A sword was next driven through his body by a German wretch named Besme; his remains thrown out of the window; his head cut off and presented to Catharine, and the mangled corpse of the admiral, dragged three days through the streets, was at last hung on a public gibbet at Montfaucon. His head was afterward embalmed, and sent to the pope and the cardinal de Lorraine. Other bells answered that of St. Germain, and from this moment the destruction became universal and indiscriminate. Persons of both sexes and of all ages alike fell victims to the unpitying rage of the cruel multitude. O God, who can describe the scenes—the horrors of that fatal night! Paris resounded with cries and lamentations which brought the defenseless people from their dwellings, and rendered them an easier prey to the spoilers. The worst passions of the human soul were let loose, and the universal cry was, Blood! blood! blood! Escape was next to impossible, from the patrols who traversed the streets in every direction, killing all they met with. Priests even ran about the city, each with a crucifix in one hand and a dagger in the other, encouraging the mob, in God's name, to spare neither relatives nor friends. Mingled cries of distress filled the air—with awful sounds of fire-arms—the red flare of lights momentarily illuminating the surrounding darkness; the Catholic citizens, soldiers, and nobles,

with linen bands on their hats, fastened cross-shaped, the symbol of safety, and brandishing the weapon of slaughter with the right hand, the other carrying a torch—and all pursuing the flying, innocent crowds of Huguenots of both sexes, presented a thrilling scene in that awful drama that no pen can describe. Amidst these pitiable cries of murdered men, women, and children, and the furious zeal and imprecations of the murderers themselves, might be seen the stern and sanguinary Marshal Tavannes, crying, "Bleed ! bleed ! Bleeding is as healthy in August as in the month of May !" Not a single Huguenot did he wish to leave alive in Paris : to use his own words again, he wanted " a cleansed and purified sabbath." Guise, Montpensier, and Angouleme also rode through the streets, encouraging the murderers, the former telling them that it was necessary to kill the very last of the heretics, and crush the race of vipers. These cruel exhortations produced their effect. One Crucé, a goldsmith, boasted that he had killed, with his own hands, four hundred persons.

When the day dawned, the capital exhibited the most appalling spectacle of butchered citizens and their guests. The bodies of murdered men and women, of children and of infants, were thrown into the river, and its waters reddened with human blood. At five o'clock in the afternoon the carnage was stayed by the royal mandate. Over two thousand had already fallen, and the king, with his court and Catharine, promenaded in the night to view the mangled remains of his unfortunate subjects. Among the victims was La Rochefoucault, in whose gay society Charles professed to find great pleasure at all times.

Early on the following morning the populace renewed their butcheries, and continued them during the whole week. The popular phrensy was heightened by public announcement of a pretended and wonderful miracle. A white thorn was exhibited in the cemetery of the Holy Innocents, which had put forth blossoms out of season ; and this was pronounced as a certain evidence of the divine approbation. Drums were beaten for the people to come and behold the prodigy, which was said to be the symbol of the downfall of Protestantism, and the future glory of the kingdom.

On the 26th the king, with a numerous suite, early attended mass, and returned thanks to God for so happy an event, and its successful termination.

News of what was going on in the capital soon reached the provinces, where the mob, secretly instigated by royal couriers, committed similar excesses of spoilation and bloodshed. They were prosecuted with brutal fury at Meaux, Orleans, Rouen, Angers,

Bordeaux, and Bourges, but most inhumanly at Lyons, where the Guises had a strong party, and Mandelot was governor. Here, when the common executioner and the guard of the citadel nobly refused to slaughter the unresisting prisoners, the militia performed the foul work, putting to death eight hundred of their fellow-citizens;—altogether four thousand were killed on that day! De Thou, a Popish historian, calculates that thirty thousand perished in this terrible convulsion: another estimates one hundred thousand. In Paris alone they amounted to ten thousand; and among the number five hundred Huguenot lords, knights, military officers, with twelve thousand gentlemen!

The king, when he announced to the parliament that he had ordered the massacre, falsely said that the deed was perpetrated to prevent a conspiracy by Coligny and the Huguenots against himself and the royal family. His last ferocious act on the bloody occasion was a mock trial against the butchered admiral and his friends in the pretended conspiracy. Coligny was condemned as a traitor to perpetual infamy; his property confiscated; his name suppressed; and his armorial bearings were dragged at the tail of a horse through every town where they had been set up, and then broken in pieces by the common executioner. His residence at Châtillon was razed to the earth, no building ever again to be erected on the spot. The trees were to be cut down to half their natural growth; the glebe sown with salt, and a column erected with this severe decree engraven in brass upon it. His children were also proscribed, and declared incapable of giving testimony in the courts, or of holding any public office within the limits of France for ever.

This massacre, which was perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day, in the year of our Lord 1572, a year most aptly designated as "infamous" by Lord Clarendon, may be pronounced the foulest and bloodiest of ancient or of modern times. The black deed has handed down the names of Catharine de Medicis and her son Charles IX. to the universal detestation of after ages.

All the princes of Europe except two, Philip II., king of Spain, and the pope, expressed their indignation upon the awful and revolting occasion. When the news of this inhuman sacrifice reached Rome, there was great joy at the Papal see, in opposition to those Romish writers who assert that their church had nothing to do with the massacre. Charles, by a public edict, proclaimed himself the author of it, pretending that he was forced to the measure by the admiral and his friends. High mass was also performed by the pope; salvoes of artillery thundered from the ramparts of St. An-

gelo; a *Te Deum* was sung to celebrate the atrocious event, and a medal was struck for the same purpose.

If every Protestant account of this terrible transaction must encounter suspicion, we ourselves will be satisfied with the testimony of this medal alone of Gregory XIII., at that time the pope;—evidence that scatters to the winds of heaven all the excuses and attempted apologies for those who perpetrated the St. Bartholomew massacre.

The medal has, as usual, on the obverse, a head of the pope, GREGORIUS XIII PONT: MAX AN. 1. The reverse exhibits a destroying angel, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, pursuing and slaying a flying and prostrate band of heretics. Strange work for an angel! The legend is UGONOTTORUM STAGES. 1572.

Bonanni, himself a Jesuit and an erudite commentator upon this medal, states, that the pontiff “gave orders for a painting, descriptive of the slaughter of the admiral and his companions, to be made in the hall of the Vatican, by Giorgio Vasari, as a monument of vindicated religion, and a trophy of exterminated heresy. But that the slaughter was not executed without the help of God and the divine counsel, Gregory inculcated in a medal struck on the occasion, in which an angel, armed with a sword and a cross, attacks the rebels, a representation by which he recalls to mind that the houses of the heretics were signed with a white cross, in order that the king’s soldiers might know them from the rest, as likewise they themselves wore a white cross on their hats.”

This is not one quarter of what the rather incautious Jesuit writes upon the subject; and to question his evidences, the apologists of the Vatican must subject him to the imputation of fabricating a falsehood, to the discredit of the holy, apostolic, Roman Catholic Church!

Of all the distinguished Protestant leaders, the prince of Navarre and the young duke of Conde were spared from destruction, and on condition of abjuring their faith. The “*mass, death or the Bastille*,” was the only alternative. By a feigned conversion they adopted the former, but abjured it afterward as compulsory, and lived to revenge the dreadful destruction of their friends. A fourth civil war soon became inevitable, and an army of eighteen thousand Protestants was mustered, who were enabled to keep possession of Rochelle, besides many smaller places, which had been attacked by the royal forces under the duke of Anjou, with a loss of twenty thousand of his men. (1573.) Navarre’s men observed the forms of religion in the camp and on the fields of battle. Be-

fore the contest at Courtiss, in 1587, they all sung the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm, and knelt down with their minister, D'Amour, who offered prayers for divine help, the whole army at the same moment uniting in these solemn devotions. In less than one hour the brilliant forces of the Catholics, glittering in plume and gold, were entirely routed, with a loss of three thousand, and among them the duke of Joyeuse, their general, and a royal favorite. Not more than two hundred fell in the Huguenot ranks; and the splendor of the victory was increased by the clemency of the king of Navarre, who set at liberty his prisoners, and to some returned their arms and standards.

Soon after this engagement, the brave and generous prince of Conde died, under the strongest suspicion of having been poisoned in the bosom of his family. When the cardinal of Bourbon, however, told the reigning monarch of the event, he said, "For my part, I think his death is to be attributed to nothing but the thunderbolt of excommunication that has fallen upon him." Navarre and the prince had both been condemned by a bull of Sixtus V., as incorrigible heretics, and belonging to the detestable Bourbon race, who had forfeited all right to the crown of France. The insulted princes protested against the bull, appealing to the peers of France, and declared Sixtus, *soi-disant* pope, to be a liar and antichrist, which was publicly posted in the streets of Rome, the dwellings of the cardinals, and upon the very doors of the Vatican.

The war at this period has always been styled, "The war of the three Henrys." Henry of Valois headed the party which maintained the royal authority. Henry of Guise led the Catholics and the leaguers. Henry of Navarre commanded the Huguenots. This contest was the eighth which had originated from nonconformity in religious matters. In the mean time Charles IX. closed his mortal, wicked career, exhibiting a shocking spectacle of wretchedness and remorse, and a warning to monarchs who may incline to bigotry, oppression, and cruelty. "My God, pardon me! be merciful! where will this end! I am lost,—lost for ever!" were among his dying expressions.

Catharine, twelve years afterward, followed him to the grave. On her death-bed she is said to have impressed upon the mind of Henry, the reigning monarch, that he never could have peace unless he granted liberty of conscience to his subjects. Others declare that, like Tavanne, remorse never touched her soul, so wrapped up were both in the infallibility of the church on earth. It is a well-known historical fact, that the very Parisians, whose blood she had caused to flow in torrents, when they heard of her death,

declared, that if her body came there on its way to St. Denis, they would drag it through the streets, and throw it into the river, as they believed that she was concerned in the death of the duke and the cardinal of Guise.

Such was the end of the proud, persecuting daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis, the wife of Henry II., and mother of Francis II., of Charles IX., and Henry III., all monarchs of France, in whose reigns she bore so conspicuous a part. How humbled now! She had erected a splendid mausoleum for herself and family; but she was carried, by torch light, to a hastily-dug grave in the corner of the church at Blois.

Henry III. does not appear to have been quite good Catholic enough for the Jesuits, and he was assassinated in 1589 by Jaques Clement, a monk, who had prepared himself for the bloody deed by fasting, prayers, and the sacraments. The king, however, received extreme unction, and expired repeating the *Miserere*. The royal murderer, who possibly expected either a martyr's crown or a bishopric, was dispatched immediately in the presence of the dying monarch by some of his attendants.

Paris was now in the hands of the Leaguers, with Mayenne at their head; and Henry of Navarre laid siege to the capital, resolving to conquer it by famine. Thirteen thousand died from lingering agony; and such were the horrors of starvation, that charnel-houses were robbed of their dead to sustain the living. He finally yielded to compassion, and permitted his soldiers to sell food to the besieged; and it is thought, for want of means to carry it on, he gave up the siege. Henry was not only fighting for the reformed religion, but also for the crown in right of his succession.

He soon ascended the throne, and Henry IV. was the first of the house of Bourbon to receive the regal honor, in 1594. He was surnamed the Great. This excellent prince endeavored to promote the happiness and peace of his people, and passed the celebrated Edict of Nantes, in 1598, which gave to the Huguenots the most ample toleration. This important edict, so often referred to, contained the ninety-two articles, besides fifty secret ones, and gave them the free exercise of their faith, the quiet enjoyment of their estates, admission to all offices of profit and honor; but the public exercises of religion were limited to certain parts of the realm. France, under the reign of this monarch, exhibited a picture of splendor and happiness, and a third part of his subjects at least embraced the reformed religion.

The churches were supplied with able pastors from Geneva; a

new translation of the Bible, books, catechisms, and hymns; and their universities were adorned by learned and pious professors. The Calvinists, in the excess of their zeal, even endeavored to abolish the monasteries, and determined to force their inmates once more into the world. This inconsiderate step was resisted, and the nuns petitioned that their convents might remain undisturbed, and be converted into hospitals for the relief of the sick and the dying. Such a generous request was promptly granted; and, assuming the dress of *Sœurs de la Charité*, their vast Ursuline convent was soon filled with objects for their commiseration and attention.

Great exertions were made to alienate the mind of the king, who had again embraced the Romish faith, from his Protestant subjects; but he, well knowing their worth and loyalty, continued to protect them during his reign. Hated still by the Popish clergy, but worthy to be immortalized, Henry IV. was assassinated in the streets of Paris by a fanatical monk, (Ravaillac,) in 1610. For two centuries the Jesuits have been suspected as the instigators of this foul act, which order, previously banished, the king had re-established in the kingdom. The incorruptible Sully, in the council, opposed their recall, but withdrew his opposition upon the pledge of the royal word, that no influence of the Jesuits should induce him to war against the Huguenots.

From this state of high prosperity, the kingdom sunk upon the death of Henry into weakness and disorder. Mary of Medici acted as regent in the minority of her son, Louis XIII. She was a weak woman, invaded the rights of the people, and revived the attacks against the reformers. Another civil war followed; and alienated by new oppressions, and now numbering over two millions, they endeavored to establish an independent state, of which Rochelle was to be the capital. The ambitious cardinal Richelieu, at this time prime minister, united with the Jesuits against the liberties enjoyed by the Protestants, while the Edict of Nantes was disregarded in many of its provisions. Rochelle, that strong-hold of the Calvinists, was attacked by the cardinal in person; and, after a siege of nearly fifteen months, it capitulated. The brave Rochellese manfully defended themselves amidst warfare and starvation. They were reduced from over twenty-seven thousand to five thousand; and out of a company of nearly six hundred English allies, only sixty-two survived! "Assure the Rochellese that I will not abandon them," was the message of Charles of England to the closely-besieged city; and just as Buckingham was taking command of the desired expedition, he was assassinated. This event

created further delay, and the expedition arrived too late to relieve the place. Its citizens bore their trials most manfully, and with a perseverance seldom equaled. The bearer of a letter was arrested, and compelled, by torture, to confess that he had swallowed it concealed in a silver almond; and he, with the silversmith who made the almond, were both hanged. Two illustrious ladies, the duchess of Rohan and her daughter, who were not named in the capitulation, are thus referred to by a writer of that day:—"Rigor without precedent, that a person of her quality, at the age of seventy, on quitting a siege in which she and her daughter had lived for three months on horse-flesh, and four or five ounces of bread per day, should be held captive, deprived of the exercises of religion." Protestants were no longer allowed to reside in this "city of refuge," unless they had been inhabitants before the arrival of Buckingham's expedition. The walls were prostrated, the fortifications razed, and a cross erected commemorating the surrender of the city. Thus perished a little Christian republic, which had defied the crown of France for seventy years, and with it most of the other Protestant places were reduced to bondage.

Richelieu died a few years after this event. As prime minister, three objects appear to have chiefly engaged his attention: to elevate the royal authority; to lessen the pride of Austria; and to terminate internal dissensions, by suppressing the few liberties still remaining to the Huguenots. Magnificent in his plans, he patronized, with a liberal hand, literature and the fine arts. In 1635 he founded the French Academy. He was an accomplished courtier, a generous friend, but an implacable enemy to the reformers. Sully preceded Richelieu in his path to the grave. In this distinguished man patriotism and loyalty harmonized with pure religious principles, which he maintained unchanged and firmly to the day of his death. His wife and daughter, the duchess of Rohan, were zealous Protestants, and washed with their own hands the linen of the communion table.

History does not afford an example of more malignant or desolating war than that which raged in France during the seventeenth century. Louis XIV., the easy dupe of Jesuits, confessors, and the designing Madame de Maintenon, and led on also by the cardinal Mazariné, determined to convert the reformers to the Roman faith. Not only force, but bribery was now employed: converts were to be purchased, and proselytism in every form resorted to. Wearied with increasing opposition, the Huguenots began to emigrate; and Louis, professing to convert, not to expel his subjects, forbade emigration under penalty of the galleys, and death to any

aiding their escape. Their ministers were now tormented on the wheel, their schools shut up, and their charitable funds confiscated. No less than seven hundred churches were destroyed, even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "*Dragooning*," as it was styled, was the last cruelty adopted. Instead of Popish missionaries, soldiers were quartered in Calvinistic districts and families, to force them into conversion. Each dragoon became a judge and executioner, while the only escape from this new invention of religious tyranny was the well-known remedy, "Come to mass, and you shall be exempted from dragoons."

In some instances the appearance of the dragoons would force an entire village to profess the Romish religion; and plunder always accompanied the system. The notorious Basville, intendant of Pictou, found, on his arrival in that province in 1682, thirty-four thousand conversions and abjurations had taken place; and within three years he had the gratification of announcing an addition of twelve thousand more, resulting from what an apologist styles, "measures replete with mildness." Many abjured to gain time to escape; and the sincerity of most of these conversions may well be questioned.

The persecution was general. "His majesty wished the most severe rigors to be inflicted on those who will not follow *his* religion; they who desire the stupid glory of being the last to convert, must be pressed to extremities,"—were the words of the royal mandate. Spies were even engaged to discover whether any French subjects were present at divine service in the chapels of the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch ambassadors. We find well-authenticated accounts of unfortunate victims who were suspended by the hair or feet, and almost suffocated from the smoke of damp straw, burned for this purpose in the places of their confinement. Foucault, one of the most cruel of the king's intendants, appears to have been engaged in planning torments that would be severe and painful, without proving mortal. Sometimes the prisoner, drenched with wine by means of a funnel, and thus intoxicated, was forced to a chapel, and his presence considered an act equal to abjuration. Others were kept from sleeping for whole days, by sentinels who constantly roused them; and Protestants, confined to beds of illness, were disturbed by the noise of drums stationed beneath their windows,—all diabolical plans to subdue their firmness. The duke de Noailles was commander in Languedoc, and in his missionary report, after relating the forced conversions of Nismes, Uzes, and other towns, he adds, "I am preparing to go through the Cevennes, and hope that by the end of this month not a Huguenot will remain."

At length the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked, October 18th, 1685, at Fontainebleau, without the least pretext or necessity, and this act gave a finishing stroke to the persecutions.

There are three motives which it is supposed induced Louis XIV. to adopt this unjust measure,—pride, devotion, and politics; and that he was urged to it by M. de Louvois, the minister of war, the Jesuits, and Madame de Maintenon. The destruction of Protestantism, they represented, would not only be an increase of his own power, but would also produce a uniformity in religion throughout the kingdom, and secure his own everlasting salvation. All this could be accomplished, he was assured, “without shedding a drop of blood.” The king and the madame were both probably deceived by this assertion, for she wrote to D’Aubigné, her brother, then zealously engaged in converting the Calvinists, “Do not be cruel to the Huguenots: they are in an error, as was Henry IV., and in the same are still many distinguished princes. Jesus Christ gained men by gentleness and love. It is for preachers to convert heretics; soldiers have not the care of their souls.”

Why the act should be termed the revocation I know not, for all its provisions had been long repealed by royal ordinances. The exercise of the reformed religion was forbidden under severe penalties; the clergy ordered to expatriate themselves; and, if caught at public worship, to be executed. Those who rejected the sacraments were thrown away after death, to be devoured by wolves and dogs. One historian asserts, that ten thousand died at the stake, or on the gibbet and the wheel. Le Tellier, the chancellor, in ten days after sealing the edict so fatal to France and disgraceful to his king, terminated his mortal career, and could sing the *Nunc dimittis*, and shout aloud, “Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.” Bossuet, the eloquent Bossuet, with Fléchier, described him as a saint, and the former could shamefully declare the overthrow of heresy.

Madame de Maintenon thus writes on the same occasion: “The king is very well pleased at having completed the great work of bringing the heretics back to the church. Father La Chaise has promised that it shall not cost one drop of blood.” In the pulpits the pious zeal of Louis XIV. was eulogized, and the press of France abounded with publications, boldly denying the naked truth, to justify what had just passed. Notwithstanding the praises of the clergy, and the flattery of courtiers, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes will ever be considered a cruel and ignominious act of tyrannical authority and treachery. Hear the judgment of the duke de Saint Simon, whose opinion is valuable, from his know-

ledge of the causes that might justify the proceeding at that period. "The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was without the least pretext or necessity; and the various proscriptions, rather than proclamations which followed it, were the fruits of this dreadful plot which depopulated one-fourth of the kingdom; ruined trade in all its branches; placed it so long under the public avowed pillage of the dragoons, and authorized torments and executions, in which thousands of innocent persons of both sexes perished;" and such, he adds, "was the general abomination of flattery and cruelty."

Never was oppression more cruel than that endured by the unfortunate Huguenots at this moment—tormented and hunted down, if they remained in the kingdom; punished as malefactors when they attempted to escape. Still the efforts of tyranny were powerless, and the true faith was preserved in the ashes of the reformed churches, and the bones of their murdered ministers. The worship in the desert became general, and hundreds of thousands of faithful men still assembled to sing their psalms, and arose up as with one heart for the irresistible rights of conscience and freedom of mind.

When thus deprived of their churches and pastors, laymen could be found who were able to conduct religious services. The Bible, prayers, and a sermon were publicly read, and for this, on the deposition of a single witness, often obtained for the purpose, warrants were issued against them, and the grand provost, with his archers, dispatched for their arrest. These laymen, once discovered, were fastened to a horse's tail, a common practice, and dragged to the nearest town for trial, when the proposition generally was, Renounce the errors of Calvin, and there might be a solitary chance for deliverance from death or a prison.

Christina, ex-queen of Sweden, who was so decidedly attached to Popery, thus writes at the time to Cardinal Azolino:—"I am overwhelmed with grief, when I think of all the innocent blood which a blind fanaticism causes daily to flow. France exercises, without remorse or fear, the most barbarous persecution, upon the dearest and most industrious portions of her people Every time I contemplate the atrocious torments which have been inflicted upon the Protestants, my heart throbs, and my eyes are filled with tears."

Severe enactments were also made to deter any preachers who might wish to return to France—death was the penalty, and five thousand five hundred livres the reward for the information that might arrest them. Many, notwithstanding, defied the haughty monarch's word, and came back clandestinely to their flocks.

Traveling in the garb of pilgrims, soldiers, or dealers in images, they often baffled the vigilance of the government, and joyfully preached to their brethren assembled in caverns and secret places. Frequently the Roman sacraments were forced upon the dying, and spurned by them, which caused an edict that the bodies of such should be drawn upon hurdles after death, and, thus degraded, presented to the gaze and derision of a barbarous populace. Although efforts had been made with the king to mitigate these cruelties, still they were unavailing, until Fenelon and other generous spirits convinced him of the dangerous policy of such bloody measures, and their severities were somewhat lessened. Marshal Vauban, also, with a true courage, that deserves a record, presented a memorial to the government, deploring the calamities which such ruinous proceedings had inflicted on France; and in the document uses this remarkable expression: "Compulsory conversions have inspired a general horror of the conduct of the ecclesiastics."—*Rulhière*, vol. i, p. 380.

Every day confirmed the universal apprehension of the Protestants, that a crisis in their affairs was at hand. The only permanent safety was now in flight; and in spite of armies by land and ships of war along the coasts, for their detention, fifty thousand families escaped to other countries. France lost above five hundred thousand of her most industrious and useful subjects, and the name of Louis XIV. was execrated over a great part of Europe. Every wise government received them as exiles and as brethren; for they were the oppressed, and carried with them religion, the arts, and skill in the manufactures of France. The king of Prussia built churches for them in his dominions. Banished Huguenots filled whole towns in the north of Germany. A suburb of London was crowded with French mechanics: there were as many as eleven English regiments composed entirely of refugees, and as brave as Cromwell's; and a colony even found their way to the Cape of Good Hope. So great were their numbers in Holland, that the country could entertain no more. There were no less than one hundred and fifty exiled ministers in London, and twenty-two Huguenot churches were supported by the government alone. Some of the nobility were naturalized and obtained high rank. Fifty thousand sought refuge in England, and parliament nobly voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling to be distributed among persons of quality, and those who, from age or infirmity, could not labor for a subsistence. King Charles issued a proclamation inviting the poor Protestants who had been persecuted in France for the cause of the gospel, to take refuge in his kingdom. There is

strong evidence of the extent of the emigration in their descendants, numerous at the present day in every Protestant region of the old and new world.

We must now speak of the *Camisard* wars at the commencement of the seventeenth century, in which numbers of the Huguenots were hanged or sent to the galleys, and their preachers broken on the wheel, or burnt alive, while contending with their old and sworn enemy. The term most probably is a corruption of *camisade*, a nocturnal attack, and originated from the violent death of the abbé Du Chaila at Pont-de-Montvert. He was *inspector of prisons*, and treated those prisoners who fell into his hands with cruelty almost beyond belief. When his tortures failed to effect abjuration, he confined his captives in narrow cells, called *ceps*, where the torment was terrible from the impossibility of moving. Severe and signal retribution followed this horrid obduracy.

In July, 1702, he arrested a party of fugitive Protestants on their way to Geneva, among whom were some young ladies, and placed the whole in *ceps*, to wait judgment. The Huguenots of the neighborhood, nearly fifty in number, assembled, and after prayer, armed with swords, old halberts, and scythes, they proceeded at night to the prison, chaunting a psalm on their march. Du Chaila was already there and gave orders to some soldiers to fire upon the party, but the doors were soon forced and the suffering captives freed. The abbé was then sought in his dwelling, and invited to surrender, but answered by a discharge of firearms. His house was next set on fire by the enraged assailants, and while attempting to escape from the flames, he fell, broke his leg, and was soon discovered concealed among the bushes of his garden. He was forthwith shot, and pierced with nearly fifty wounds.

This deed of great enormity, for such it was, however palliating the circumstance by which it was provoked, gave rise to the war of the *Camisards*. Its leaders were soon punished; one had his hand cut off, and was burnt alive; and others were broken on the wheel. A time of desolation succeeded these enormities. The *Camisards*, hunted like wild beasts, embraced every opportunity of retaliation. Were it desirable to crowd this essay with affecting or revolting scenes, this era would supply a volume. Jean Cavalier, a mere shepherd boy, only twenty-one years of age, but possessing great bravery and boldness, generally led the *Camisards*. He also preached with energy and force, and the Protestants compared him to Gideon and Maccabeus. The leads of churches and the pewter utensils of an abbé were melted into bullets for the use of his followers. Before they marched, it was

their custom to pray for divine guidance, and when they halted, to offer public thanksgivings. In all their towns they administered the Lord's supper, and celebrated marriages and baptisms.

Although it is not known what was the largest force the Camisards mustered, still they must have been numerous, for historians have described no less than thirty-four engagements in which they had the advantage. Their goods and provisions were in common, and they addressed their chief as *brother*. When his motives were demanded for taking arms, Cavalier replied, "that it was in self-defense, . . . and that he and his friends preferred death to the relinquishment of a religion they considered good, or to attend mass and prostrate themselves before images of wood and stone, against the light of their conscience. They were ready to lay down their arms, and employ their lives and property for the king's service, whenever they had obtained liberty of conscience, the liberation of their brethren imprisoned for religion, and a cessation of cruel and ignominious punishments for the Protestants."

Still they were opposed : Pope Clement XI. issued a bull, which enjoined a crusade against the "accursed and miserable race," and granted pardon for every sin to those who might be killed in effecting their extermination. On one occasion the count de Broglie, the Catholic leader, seized sixteen persons for holding a religious meeting, and hung four at the church door, and sent twelve to the galleys. Marshal Montrevel was still more sanguinary ; he ordered whole towns and parishes inhabited by Protestants to be pillaged and burnt, and the number thus marked out for destruction was four hundred and sixty-six. Montrevel commenced his inhuman expedition in the month of September, 1703. This horrible act was approved of by the bishop of Nismes, who wrote to the marshal—"The project you are executing is severe, and will doubtless be useful. It cuts at the very root of the evil ; it destroys the asylums of the seditious !" But it is time to quit this period of cruelty and vengeance.

Upon the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, his successor being a mere child, the dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, successively, became regents. The former maintained all the edicts against Protestant worship, and, immediately after the deceased monarch's burial, threw open the doors of the Bastile to the unfortunate victims of the revenge of father Tellier, who had succeeded La Chaise as confessor, and with the office inherited his odious, proud, and vindictive character. When the duke of Bourbon undertook the direction of the government, he vainly imagined that he could immortalize his administration by the oppression and severities of

Louis XIV. Children torn from their parents were educated in the Romish faith, confiscation decreed against relapsed converts, and death to their pastors.

The Huguenots by thousands again sought refuge in the forests and desert places; and when the benediction of their ministers could not be obtained, aged heads of families pronounced it. M. Desubas, a young preacher, was arrested at Vernoux in 1745, and crowds hastened there to intercede for their pastor's life. They were fired upon, and thirty-six killed, and two hundred wounded. He suffered death at Montpellier in presence of an immense assemblage, with great Christian calmness, which even excited the admiration of the Catholics themselves. Three brothers, named Grenier, the eldest not twenty-two, were beheaded at Toulouse, (1762,) and close by the gibbet on which Francis Rochette, their faithful pastor, was hanged, and whom they had endeavored to release from captivity. Four priests beset them to recant, with the promise of life, until the fatal moment. When the crucifix was presented to them, the eldest replied, "Speak to us of Him who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, and we are ready to listen; but do not introduce your superstitions." Two having suffered, the executioner besought the youngest to live by abjuring, but, with a martyr's fortitude, he answered, "Do thy duty," and submitted to the fatal axe.

The philosophic party which arose toward the end of the seventeenth century in France did much, in its well-known hatred of the clergy, to mitigate the severities of the code which oppressed the Huguenots. Even Voltaire's writings aided the cause of toleration, and especially his letter to Marshal Richelieu on the subject. Religious assemblies were no longer the objects of such vigilant pursuit as they had been, and Protestant worship was continued more by sufferance than by permission.

A new era dawned upon the Huguenots with the decrees of the National Assembly, when non-Catholics were declared eligible to all public offices in 1789; and to use the language of the illustrious Lafayette, "Protestants were permitted to become husbands and wives." Hence the revolution was hailed with enthusiastic joy by those who, from their cradles, had been the objects of the severest trials. Nearly a million of people came forward to profess their reformed faith, and to register their baptisms and marriages before the local authorities, a privilege long denied to them. In subsequent elections, however, the Catholic and Protestant interests were as usual placed in hostility to each other; the clergy of the former in some instances circulating inflammatory pamphlets, and

urging the destruction of the latter. Such an outrage was attempted at Nismes in 1790, where Protestant blood was once more shed, but the violence was quickly arrested by the National Guards. Many of the conspirators against the religious rights of the people were killed on the spot, and the convent of the Capuchins, a place notorious for the conspiracy, was forced and taken, with the loss of five Capuchins and three laymen.

The restoration of the Bourbon princes and the regular government were events truly cheering to the hopes of the French Protestants; for the rights of conscience and liberty of worship were legally admitted upon the downfall of anarchy. The charter of June 4, 1814, granted by Louis XVIII., contains these articles:—

“5th. Every one may profess his religion with equal liberty, and obtain for his mode of worship equal protection.

“6th. In the mean time, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, is the religion of the state.

“7th. The ministers of the Catholic religion, and those of other Christian denominations, can receive payment from the public treasury *alone*.”

When Louis Philippe assumed the government, on the 9th of August, 1830, the sixth was suppressed. The evangelical party manifested their loyalty in the religious services which celebrated the restoration; this, however, was questioned by their old foe, who persisted in representing the reformers as Jacobins. There were instances of Protestants who were elected mayors, but it was not uncommon for such to resign their office on account of the insults from bigoted factions. The “men of 1790” continued active in their nefarious designs—“The charter will not last a month”—“The St. Bartholomew is not far off”—“They would wash their hands in Protestant blood,” were expressions shouted by the lower orders in the cabarets and market-places of Paris, as late as the year 1814. In some towns addresses were adopted, declaring that France should have *only one* religion—One God, one king, one faith, was the motto inscribed over the gates of Lyons. The Catholic clergy recommended their penitents to say a certain number of *paters* and *aves* for the throne, and the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which order had been suppressed by the revolution.

When Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo, the spirits of the Catholics were greatly revived, and an undisciplined army, ready to enlist in the ranks of the stronger party, collected at Beaucaire, were permitted to enter Nismes, where a false report had been circulated that Protestant insurgents were murdering the Catholics. In vain did General Maulmont, the commander of the place, pro-

test against the threatened violence, exhorting the mob to await the arrival of the king's representative to quell the popular fury. He was forced to retire into the barracks and to capitulate, his soldiers disarming themselves under the promised protection of the gens d'armes. Scarcely, however, had fifty marched from their quarters when the royalists fired upon them, and killed and wounded the greater part. Maulmont was among the slain, and those inside were soon massacred. Animated by such a tragic scene, and confident of impunity, this sanguinary body for several months committed frightful excesses of devastation and death in the department of Gard. The strong arm of the law became paralyzed, and its public tribunals powerless, from some secret fatal influence.

As St. Bartholomew's day approached, (1815,) a day so fatal in the annals of Protestantism, a general massacre was apprehended and even threatened, which caused an extensive emigration. On the evening of that memorable and awful drama M. Perier, the Protestant ex-mayor of Cevennes, was shot dead in the public village, while persuading his fellow-townsmen to disperse quietly, who were assembling together from the fear of a persecuting faction that had represented the place as in a state of insurrection. Three other of its inhabitants were ordered to be shot without the least investigation, or even the semblance of a trial, and were thus inhumanly sacrificed. Upon the same day, six of the National Guards were seized and carried from St. Maurice, a Protestant commune, to Uzes, and shot on the esplanade, and twenty-two children were thus rendered fatherless by this murder and brutality. Graffan, the ringleader in this outrage, was arrested; but protected by powerful individuals, he was tried and honorably acquitted! Great outrages were also committed throughout Languedoc and Vancluse.

In the month of October, 1815, a plan was formed in Nismes for a general destruction of the Protestants, by eight hundred armed men, divided into bands, who were to scour the Faubourgs; the magistrates adopted no measures to quell the faction, and the place would have rivaled the St. Bartholomew at Paris, if General Lagarde had not providentially discovered the conspiracy on the very night it was to be perpetrated. By a peculiar energy of character and bravery, he arrested the chief insurgents, and saved the town from destruction. The worship at the Protestant temple could only be continued with the presence of armed troops, who kept in awe the surrounding mob, and on one occasion they even entered the church, shouting, "*Vive Le Roi*. Death to the Pro-

testants! kill! kill!" The disturbers were expelled by the gens d'armes, but it was impossible to proceed with the services.

The elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne was universally regarded as the harbinger of entire religious liberties; the change of dynasty, however, did not pass into other hands, without an attempt to excite troubles. Martial law was proclaimed at Nismes, and notwithstanding this strong measure, a conflict took place there in which six Protestants were killed, and twenty-eight wounded. Brilliant as were the hopes of the "three days" in 1830, it cannot be concealed that attempts were made to restrict the freedom of worship. While the law to prevent associations was under discussion, an amendment was offered to except meetings for religious services, but opposed by the keeper of the seals. In the year 1834, M. Oster opened a Lutheran chapel at Metz, having conformed to all the provisions of the law, and for several weeks regularly performed divine service. The mayor, however, interfered with his clerical duties, and M. Oster was sentenced by the police court for an infraction of the municipal laws. John Baptist Doine, a preacher of the *Société Evangélique*, and a schoolmaster, were charged before a similar tribunal with illegal religious meetings, and a trifling fine was imposed upon them. The royal court of Orleans annulled the judgment, which important decision created very great joy among the Protestants, who had come a long distance to the trial, as religious liberty was so deeply involved in the question. Against this favorable decree the procureur-général of Orleans appealed to the court of cassation, where it was elaborately argued, and the opinion of the lower court confirmed by that body. To celebrate this modern triumph of justice, a day was set apart for especial religious observances by the Protestant party of France.

Having thus traced the history of the French Protestants through the last three centuries, it is not our purpose to speak of their present condition; a far brighter and glorious era now dawns upon them than we have seen in those awful periods of persecution and death which we have endeavored to describe. The Church of Rome admits the authority of the sacred Scriptures; and the present diffusion of that holy book in France will produce perfect freedom upon the subject of religion, and a love for the pure and simple worship of the Almighty. Genuine Protestantism desires nothing more nor less than that truth contained in the word of God, and which is the best calculated to promote the happiness, elevation, and advancement of every people and nation under the heavens.

In the American colonies the Huguenots were welcomed every-

where. Did any arrive poor, having barely escaped with their lives, New-England contributed to their support, and provided them with lands. Soon they became identified with our useful and honorable citizens. Faneuil Hall, in Boston, where the voice of independence was early heard in our struggle for liberty, was the gift of the son of a Huguenot: the honored edifice retains his name, and its walls are adorned with his full-length portrait.

In 1662 John Touton, a French doctor of Rochelle, applied to the court of Massachusetts that he and other Protestants, who had been expelled from their homes on account of their religion, might come to New-England. This application was readily granted, but its advantages were not enjoyed until twenty years afterward, when the edict of Nantes was revoked. Soon after this event, the general court granted a tract of land, eight miles square, to Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, and Major Robert Thompson. This region was then called by the Indians the Nipmug country, and eleven or twelve thousand acres were set apart for a village to be called Oxford, at that time literally a howling wilderness, but now near the well-known and peaceful town of Worcester. Gabriel Bernon is named as "undertaker for the plantation," and the Huguenots purchased some portions of it at low prices. They sailed from France in 1684 or 1685, and so secret was the notice for their departure, that one family (Germaine) relates, *they left the pot boiling over the fire*. Upon their arrival at Boston they went to Fort Hill, and were kindly entertained until they removed to Oxford.

One of the first acts of the refugees was to settle a French Protestant minister, giving him forty pounds, and increasing his salary afterward. Surrounded by the savages on every side, they erected a fort, the traces of which can still be seen, overgrown with roses, currant bushes, and other shrubbery. Mrs. Sigourney's beautiful lines,

" Say, did thy germ e'er drink the fostering dew
Of beauteous Languedoc? Didst thou unfold?" &c.,

were written on a visit to this venerable spot. But the fortification did not render their abode safe from the murderous assaults of their enemy. A Mr. Johnson, and his three children, were massacred by the Indians. His wife was a sister of Andrew Sigourney, one of the earlist Huguenots who emigrated. Hearing the report of guns, he ran to the house, seized his sister, and escaped with her through a back door. After this murder, the French deserted their forest home and repaired to Boston in the year 1696, where vestiges of their industry and agricultural taste long remained. Many

of the pears retain their French names to this day. At Boston they built a church, and Mr. Daillé was their pastor: a Mr. Lawrie is also mentioned as one of their ministers. This very church was afterward used by the French Catholics, who escaped to this country from the horrors of the French Revolution, and subsequently a Universalist church was erected on the site. What a striking comment upon the tolerant principles of our free and happy country! After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Huguenots fled to the Netherlands by thousands, and soon became identified with the Dutch, who were a great commercial nation at this period. Trading expeditions, early in the seventeenth century, were dispatched to this continent; and New-Amsterdam, now New-York, was settled by the Dutch West India Company. In the year 1625 the first child was born in New-York. She was a daughter of George Rapaeligo, a descendant of Huguenot ancestors. New-York was always an asylum for the persecuted of every clime. When the Protestant churches of Rochelle, in 1685, were destroyed, the Calvinists of that city were admitted into this colony; they came in such numbers that our public documents were sometimes printed in French, Dutch, and English. Records at Albany state that crowds of orphans were shipped for the new world, and a free passage offered to mechanics.

To the encouragement of Gov. Stuyvesant is to be attributed the first emigration of the French Huguenots to this region, whose descendants for generations have been among our most respectable and intelligent citizens. On the 24th of January, 1664, N. Van Beck, a merchant in New-Amsterdam, received letters from Rochelle, stating the wish of some Protestants to settle in New-Netherland, as their religious rights had been invaded, and their churches burned; the governor and council resolved to receive them kindly, and to grant them land gratuitously. In 1710, three thousand Palatines, who had fled to England from the rage of persecution in Germany, emigrated to New-York under the guidance of Gen. Rob. Hunter. Some settled in the city, others on Livingston Manor; some journeyed to Pennsylvania, where their descendants still remain. Many Protestants came over after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and established the town of New-Rochelle, which they named after their own brave native city—others located at New-Paltz, in Ulster county, and one of their descendants has recently presented to the library of the American Bible Society a French Bible, which was carried by persecuted Protestants first to Holland, and then brought by them to this country.

New-Rochelle is situated near the shores of Long Island Sound,

and the emigrants purchased of John Pell six thousand one hundred acres of land. It is related that one old man would daily go to the shore, and directing his eyes toward the direction where he supposed France was situated, would sing one of Marot's hymns, and send to heaven his morning devotions. Others joined him in these pious remembrances of their God, and of their beloved native climes, from which they had been driven by the merciless fires of persecution. A small wooden church was first occupied; the second was built of stone, and so anxious were all to contribute something toward its completion, that even females carried mortar in their aprons, to complete the sacred work. Queen Anne gave them plate for the church. The Rev. Mr. Boudet was their first minister. Nothing remains of this former sanctuary but its burial-place. Before the erection of the New-Rochelle church, men frequently walked to New-York, a distance of twenty-three miles, to attend the sabbath services of the old church du St. Esprit. Among the families at New-Rochelle, need we mention the illustrious John Jay, the grandson of a Huguenot, who made the celebrated treaty of Paris for the independence of our country, and exerted a powerful influence in extending the limits of the United States to the Mississippi! The emigrants not only introduced valuable mechanic arts, but the blessings of agriculture. Our white, red, and cornelian roses, with gilly flowers, tulips, white lilies, marygolds, and violets, were brought from Holland, and the quince-tree from the Danube, by the Palatines.

On Marketfield-street, near the Battery, in our own city, they early erected an humble chapel, and hither on every Lord's day, assembling from the city, and by wagons, in which they would lodge all night, from Long Island, New-Rochelle, and Staten Island, might they be seen worshipping God without the fear of royal, bloody, or persecuting edicts. In 1704, L'Eglise du St. Esprit and cemetery occupied a spot directly opposite the Custom House on Pine-street—a plain stone edifice nearly square. Its bell was the gift of Sir Henry Ashurst of London, and on the front of the edifice was inscribed,—

ÆDES SACRA
GALLOR. PROT.
REFORM
FVNDA. 1704
PENITVS
REPAR 1741.

Their successors finally erected the present splendid marble edifice in Leonard-street, where the doctrines of the blessed Reformation still continue to be preached in the same language in which they were so eloquently declared by Claude and Saurin more than a century ago.

Staten Island, that enchanting spot in our beautiful bay, which should be called the Huguenot Island, was another favorite asylum for the French Protestants. They went there in considerable numbers, as far as we can ascertain, about the year 1675, with a pastor, and erected a church near Richmond. We have visited the place, and the only remains that mark the venerable ground are one or two broken, dilapidated grave-stones. The edifice was probably destroyed by fire. It is worthy of notice that most of the leading members of the numerous Christian churches on the island are lineal branches of the French Huguenots. The venerable Bishop Moore, for a long time the pastor of the Episcopal congregations there, numbered many of them among his vestrymen; and his son, the Rev. Dr. Moore, who succeeded him in the ministerial office, still retains such among his flock. That eloquent and eminent divine, the late Rev. Dr. Bedell of Philadelphia, was of the same origin on the maternal side, and a Staten Islander by birth. Elias Boudinot, LL. D., whose memory is precious to the lovers of the Bible, traced his origin to the Huguenots. He was chosen president of congress in 1782—appointed by Gen. Washington director of the national mint—a distinguished benefactor to the college in New-Jersey, and is considered as the father of the American Bible Society. It is worthy of notice that John Jay and himself were both presidents of this noble national institution. A number of the French Protestants went to the Narragansett country, and called their settlement Frenchtown, a name which it still retains. They planted an orchard, of which remains can yet be found on a farm at East Greenwich, and is now known by the name of the French orchard. Moses Le Moine first built a hut on the spot; after him the Ayraults, in the year 1685.

But the warmer climates of the south were more inviting to the exiles of Languedoc, and multitudes flocked to Virginia. From a single family, John Fontaine, himself a Calvinistic clergyman first, to his refugee brethren in England and Ireland, (1688,) and then from his son, a settled minister and emigrant to King William county, and his son-in-law, the Rev. James Maury—from this stock alone have descended hundreds of the best inhabitants of that ancient commonwealth, embracing ministers, members of the bar, legislators, and public officers.

In 1690 King William sent to Virginia a large portion of the Huguenot refugees who had taken shelter in England, and lands were allotted to them on James' River. They were also naturalized by a special act, and in 1699 six hundred more came over, conducted by their pastor, Philip de Richebourg, and located themselves about twenty miles above Richmond, on lands formerly occupied by a powerful tribe of the Monacan Indians. The assembly of Virginia exempted them from the payment of taxes in 1700, and fully protected their rights. Their little dwellings, covered with grape-vines and the wild honeysuckle, might be seen scattered along the river, quite down to the vicinity of Richmond. One writer says, "Most of the French who lived at that town (Monacan) on James' River, removed to Trent River, in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in August, 1708." We find no other account of their having settled in North Carolina. We have recently discovered a Huguenot relic in Petersburg, Va., "a register containing the baptisms made within the church of the French refugees in the Manikin town, within the parish of King William, in the year of our Lord 1721, the 25th of March. Done by Jacques Soblet, clerk." The manuscript contains about twenty-five pages of foolscap paper, written in French, and should be preserved in the collections of some historical society. South Carolina, however, with its congenial climate, became the chief resort of the Huguenots. Fugitives from Rochelle and Bordeaux, the provinces on the bay of Biscay, from the beautiful valley of Tour, men with the virtues of the English Puritans, but without their bigotry, came to these regions, unsuccessfully explored by their forefathers a century before, but now rendered a welcome refuge to the oppressed of every creed, by the tolerant benevolence of Lord Shaftsbury. Driven in wanton bigotry by their king from their country, here they found a land where the blazing fires of religious persecution were never to be kindled. Some established themselves on the banks of the Santee, where they laid out a town and called it "Jamestown," a region since celebrated for affluence, refined taste, and hospitality. Another settlement went to Berkley county, which they called the "Orange Quarter," and subsequently the Parish of St. Dennis; and some families settled at St. Johns, Berkley. Four French congregations, it is thought, were organized in this colony—at Jamestown, Orange Quarter, St. Johns, and Charleston, all of which professed the faith and forms of the church of Geneva. In 1706, however, the assembly passed the "Church Act," by which the Church of England assumed a legal

religious establishment in the colony, when three of these congregations became Episcopalian. The Rev. Mr. St. Pierre was the pastor of St. Dennis, which church was built about the year 1708, and the Rev. Philip de Richbourg was the first rector of St. John's. He died in 1717. The Huguenot church in Charleston alone maintained its distinctive character. It was founded by the Rev. Elias Prioleau, himself a descendant of the Prioli family, which gave a doge to Venice in 1618. This sacred edifice was erected about 1693, and was a plain, neat, square stone building, and stands in good order to this hour. We have seen the time-honored spot, strolled about its ancient heaped-up graves, many of which still remain, and indulged in the hallowing associations of such a place and such an hour. The living long since have ceased to occupy its humble oaken seats, and their successors have mingled with the pious of other denominations; but in the times of which we are discoursing, this tabernacle was filled with the prayers and melodies of these early Christians. They regulated the hour of worship by the tide. Here, on every Lord's day, from their plantations on the Cooper River, might parents with their children be seen embarking in their light skiffs, and pushing their way to the house of God without fear of molestation from any quarter. In the beautiful imagery of Scripture, emphatically did they recline "under their vine and fig-tree." Exiles in strange lands, and unaccustomed to the habits and the language of the people, still they established themselves successfully in New-England, New-York, Virginia, and South Carolina. They were thrown upon their own energies, and, trusting in their Maker, proved, that when true to God, and true to themselves, men need never despair.

No emigrants were more useful to the infant colony of South Carolina than the French Protestants. In many of the arts, and especially that of agriculture, they were far before the English. Their original appellation of Huguenots has almost been entirely lost; but many illustrious names might be mentioned among their descendants in that brave state. Gabriel Manigault has often been referred to, and his memory and virtues deserve the remembrance. From his great prosperity, he was able to loan the state two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, which he did cheerfully at a time when the struggle for our national independence was dark, arduous, and doubtful. Henry Laurens, a president of the "Old Congress"—General Francis Marion—the Huger family, one of whom cheerfully aided Lafayette in his escape from Olmutz—Legare, the late lamented attorney-general, were all the sons of South Carolina Huguenots.

Thus have we followed, from the best sources of information within our reach, rapid as the sketch must necessarily be in an essay like this, the Huguenots of Europe and America. To write their history correctly is a difficult task, and a succinct account of their sufferings and trials, before the French Revolution of 1789, would have been considered as libelous in France. Hence the almost general silence of French authors on the subject. But little is even known of those violent persecutions at Nismes in 1815, which then desolated the south of France. Their American history, also, is a work which yet remains fully to be written, and we gladly have contributed our mite to the general stock at a period when increased attention is directed to historical subjects.

There are circumstances in the condition of the present French Protestant Church which afford animating prospects of its rapid growth and improvement; but we cannot dwell upon them here. To do justice to that subject would require more time and space than are embraced in our present plan.

In their escape to this country the Huguenots resemble the escape of Moses from Egyptian bondage to the wilderness, where God might give them the tabernacle of religious freedom, and the rights of conscience. Certainly we cannot desire to see perpetuated among us the foreign notions of hereditary excellence; still, as claiming origin from this noble race ourselves, with their descendants we may look back with pride to our Huguenot forefathers. Does such a one read these pages? Remember that the blood of martyrs runs in your veins! and that your ancestors and their associates were such men as Calvin, Beza, Claude, and Saurin, with the brave, the wise, and incorruptible Sully, names worthy of enduring remembrance in the world's history. Well may we all boast of our own happy inheritance. The emigration of our forefathers was the most momentous event of the seventeenth century. Priestcraft did not emigrate, but religion; not the idolatry of form, but sincere, simple worship of the Almighty, came as a companion with them to the forests of America. Our fathers were not only Christians, but they were Protestants. The Puritans of Winthrop's fleet—the adventurous companions of Smith—the Quaker outlaws—the expatriated Huguenots, all professed faith in God and in the soul of man. They were believers in Bible Christianity—the system inculcating equality among men, and exactly adapted in its practical operations to the wants and happiness of civil society—the system which cradled our liberties and brought them up to manhood.

The people, thus free from ancient prejudices, and independent

of previous political elements, laid the corner-stones of this great republic. Exultingly then may each of us exclaim, "I am an American citizen." Search the world, and where is there a land presenting such a sublime spectacle as our own? Here the oppressed of all regions and the martyrs of every creed find a safe refuge! Land of freedom—hallowed asylum of the persecuted—land of benedictions!

"There is no other land like thee,
No dearer shore;
Thou art the shelter of the free,
The home, the port of liberty,
Thou hast been and shalt ever be,
Till time is o'er.
Ere I forget to think upon
My land, shall mother curse the son
She bore."—*Percival*.

New-York, February, 1844.

NOTE.—In this Essay we have, among many others, consulted Browning's History of the Huguenots, Hakluyt's Voyages, Ramsay's South Carolina, D'Aubigne, the Histories of France, Bancroft, Beverly, and Henning's Virginia, Wilk's Persecutions endured by the Protestants of the South of France, Works of Court, Rulhière, Flechier, Rohan, *Mem.*, *Merc. Franc.*, &c., &c.

ART. V.—*The Articles of the Synod of Dort, translated from the Latin, with Notes.* By the Rev. THOMAS SCOTT, D. D. To which is added an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. SAMUEL MILLER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1841.

WE are not about to dissect the book, the title-page of which we have given above; but, after a general view of it, to give the counter part of the great controversy which agitated the churches of the Low countries during the seventeenth century. Most of the matters this book contains have been in controversy in the churches for centuries, and it is to be feared that much evil has been the result of the manner in which they have been handled. The articles established by the Synod of Dort are a perspicuous statement of the sublapsarian theory of predestination, election, and perseverance: these, together with the articles "rejected," constitute the principal part of the present volume. Over and above what

appears in the title-page, the book contains one hundred and eighty-two pages of historical matter, composed of a preface and introduction, by Dr. Scott, and a "History of Preceding Events," from the writings of the contra-Remonstrants. All this matter is perfectly one sided in relation to the great controversy which arose in the Belgic churches upon predestination. The statements are made upon the authority of the contra-Remonstrants, who were interested parties. We are sorry that these severe caricatures have been sanctioned and sent out in a popular form by our Presbyterian brethren in this country. The bitterness of that great controversy ought not to be perpetuated. In these days we should be prepared to look calmly and soberly over the whole ground in dispute, and to avoid the prejudices which were generated by the heat of the controversy. No man can understand that controversy, or form a proper estimate of the character of the prominent men who figured in it, without reading both sides, and attending to the version which each gives of his own case.

In the "History of Preceding Events" Arminius is sadly misrepresented, and the true positions which he occupied at the different stages of the controversy are never presented according to his own explanations, but are based upon the unproved, and, as we believe in most cases, the groundless assertions of his immediate opponents and his personal enemies. Hence the conduct attributed to him cannot fail to characterize him as a vain ambitious aspirant, a base hypocrite, an arch heretic, and a promoter of sedition. He is represented as propagating doctrines in secret which he denied in public, as undermining the creed of the Belgic churches by secret and indirect means, as refusing to give candid explanations on proper occasions, and evading discussion. And we are sorry to say that Dr. Miller's "Introductory Essay" is still more replete with these allegations than the matter brought by Dr. Scott from the times of the controversy. We deeply regret the necessity of making this statement. The venerable doctor had the means of better information; and, in justice to an injured orthodox and deeply-pious Protestant divine, he ought at least to have qualified his statements. If the feelings of those Christians who hold Arminius in high veneration, and maintain his leading views in theology, were entitled to no respect, historical candor should have restrained him in his severe and withering accusations.

We need not apprise Dr. Miller that every one of his specifications in support of the charges of unfairness, evasion, and tergiversation;—and of heresy, or error in fundamentals;—and of a factious spirit, were promptly denied at the time, and have been disproved

by the clearest documentary evidence a thousand times. Let any man read the defense of Arminius before the states of Holland, and Brandt's voluminous documentary history of the controversy in the Belgic churches between the Remonstrants and the contra-Remonstrants, and then say if he can believe that learned Dutch divine to be a Socinian, a bringer in of novelties, a disturber of the public tranquillity—a great theological, ecclesiastical, and political incendiary, who deserved death, or at least bonds.

The doctor joins with Dr. Murdock, in opposition to Professor Stuart, in maintaining that Arminius was heretical in doctrine, and that he really dissented from the received faith in more points than those immediately connected with the article of predestination. We must declare our astonishment that Dr. Murdock should, upon the grounds he alledges, even if he has not mistaken them—a matter which, for the present, we shall not examine—endeavor to draw the general orthodoxy of Arminius into question; and are equally surprised that Dr. Miller should have adopted his views. Let all the existing records be consulted, and we fear not the result. We must honestly say, we fear these highly-respected Christian gentlemen have come to a hasty induction. They have credited partial statements and interested authorities. But we must not enlarge.

We have said quite sufficient as an introduction to what follows. We here present a "Historical Relation concerning the Origin and Progress of the Controversies in the Belgic League, upon Predestination and its connected Heads, translated from the Latin of Philip a Limborch." This may be safely taken as the counter statement of the matter, and should be read by all who read Dr. Miller's "Introductory Essay," and the "History of Preceding Events," as found in the volume, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. The narrative, brief as it is, will be found to contain authorities which fully bear out the author in his main positions. *Limborch*, it will be recollected, was son-in-law of the celebrated *Simon Episcopus*, the Demosthenes of the Remonstrants. He consequently writes of his own times, and of matters which he had the best opportunities well to understand. His learning and candor we believe have not been called in question. But we must not longer detain the reader from his story.—ED.

It is so plain, and so fully and clearly established by various authors in the testimony they have brought forward, that the earliest Christian teachers, down to the time of Augustine, were entirely ignorant of absolute predestination, and that they, one and

all, taught a conditional predestination, that if I should attempt elaborately to prove the same, I would be endeavoring to add light to the sun, and only be performing that which has already been accomplished. The single testimony of Gerard John Vossius will be sufficient: (Histor. Pelag., lib. vi, th. viii:) "All the Grecian fathers, and those of the Latin fathers who lived before Augustine, were accustomed to say that those were predestinated to life whom God foresaw would live piously and rightly, or, as others said, whom he foresaw would believe and persevere, τοὺς μέλλοντας πιστεύειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, as in 1 Tim. i; which they so interpreted that predestination to glory might be said to be brought about according to his foreknowledge of faith and perseverance." Augustine himself, before the controversy with Pelagius arose, thought nothing different from former teachers; but either being carried too far against the contrary opinion, by the ardor of disputation and ἀμετρία ἀνθολκῆς, or not sufficiently free from the Manichæan error—to which he sometimes acknowledges he has been devoted—first brought into the Christian church, and resolutely defended, the idea of absolute predestination.

On account of his great authority in the church he always had many zealous advocates of his opinion, but on the other hand no less vigorous opposers, and therefore the dispute concerning divine predestination frequently revived, and many, through reverence for Augustine, gave him their support; while others contended strenuously against his doctrine, as being opposed to the sacred Scriptures and to reason.

This disputation revived again in the time of the Reformation. Luther, an Augustine monk, also followed Augustine's opinion of predestination: but going even further, he not only, by this step, destroyed the freedom of the will—which cannot possibly exist while the belief of absolute predestination remains—but also, in a book published against Erasmus, *De Servo Arbitrio*, removed even the name of freedom; while others, defenders of absolute predestination, less candid in this matter than Luther, carefully retained the shadow of freedom, lest they should seem entirely to deny its substance. Philip Melancthon, in the former edition of his *Loci Communes*, having followed the sentiment of Luther, changed his views in subsequent editions, and from that time the Lutherans, abandoning the doctrine of an absolute, taught a conditional, predestination.

Calvin and those who were of his belief were most resolute defenders of absolute predestination; and although Calvin shielded himself mostly under the authority of Augustine, yet he went fur-

ther than Augustine, and added this new article to his opinion—that true faith cannot be entirely lost; and moreover, that the faithful are even fully and absolutely sure of their own salvation. The Genevese were his followers in Switzerland; Zanchius, Ursinus, Piscator, Paræus, and others in Germany; and a considerable number in Helvetia and elsewhere.

In the Netherlands, at the beginning of the Reformation, there was no serious dispute concerning this question: it seemed sufficient to attack the grosser errors and superstitions of the pontifical church; but as to the remainder, there was no contention so long as they were not connected with those rites which were so exceedingly superstitious. But when, after this, disciples of the divines of Geneva, the Palatinate, and Nassau, all of whom were most rigid defenders of absolute predestination, had everywhere sprung up, and were superior in number in the Belgic churches, they wished then to introduce the tenets of their own teachers, and to prescribe, as it were, a rule of faith to others, from which it would be right for no one to dissent.

Nevertheless, there were always advocates of conditional predestination, who taught publicly in the Belgic churches, and sometimes made known their sentiments in published writings: in Gelderland, Anastasius Veluanus, or Velausus; in Holland, Holmannus, professor at Leyden; at Gouda, Hermannus Herberti; at Horn, Clemens Martini, and Cornelius Meinardi, also Cornelius Wiggeri; at Medenblik, Taco Sibrandi; at Leyden, Gaspar Coolhasius; at Utrecht, Hubertus Duifhusius, pastor of St. James' church; and in Frisia, Gellius Snecanus. Against these persons the synods wished to institute some ecclesiastical proceeding, and to compel them either to recant or abdicate their offices; but to this was opposed the authority of the magistrates. Cornelius Wiggeri, who alone wished to separate the congregations, together with Coolhasius, was excommunicated.

After this a certain conflict began to arise between the magistrates and ecclesiastics concerning the authority for forming ecclesiastical laws: also the ecclesiastical discipline—which the ministers inclined to the Genevan form were endeavoring to introduce into the Belgic churches—began to be very odious to the magistrates. But concerning this question we will treat more extensively hereafter.

In like manner, when those who held to conditional predestination were oppressed by the authority of the Belgic Confession and Palatine Catechism, a dispute was commenced with reference to their validity. The Belgic Confession was first written by

Guido de Bres, and communicated to certain other ministers whom he was able to consult in those most difficult times; yet not with the design that it should be received as a canon of faith, but simply as a declaration of the opinion which they held, and its support from the Scriptures. It consists of thirty-seven articles. It had been examined in no synod, read in no consistories and classes, and had not been weighed maturely to see whether it was in all points conformable to sacred Scripture; yet this confession was approved in certain synods by a few who had assembled for this purpose, as though they were the common deputies of the Belgic churches; and thus, imperceptibly, it crept into the church. But that this confession was not examined in the synods anterior to its being approved is sufficiently evident from the fact, that no mention of its examination is made in the synodal acts: and moreover, that when there was a movement in the synods concerning receiving the thirty-seven articles,—for of so many does the Belgic Confession consist,—some of the ministers were so ignorant of this confession, that when mention was made of the thirty-seven articles, they inquired what those articles were; and from this circumstance a dispute arose, whether the confession and catechism ought not to be revised and examined.

Things being in this condition, James Arminius was called to the church at Amsterdam. Arminius was a foster pupil of the state of Amsterdam, and was sent to Geneva for the prosecution of his studies. He kindled up great jealousy against himself, by teaching the logic of Ramus, and by defending it a little too warmly. Thence he hastened to Basil, and there contracted a friendship with Grynæus. He very modestly refused the title of doctor, which was offered him; and afterward, returning to Geneva, so far gained the favor of Beza on account of his zeal, industry, and genius, that he furnished him with this very honorable testimony to Martin Lydius, then pastor at Amsterdam: * “That you may know all in

* “In 1582 he was sent to Geneva, at the expense of the magistrates of Amsterdam, to perfect his studies in the colleges there, where he chiefly followed the lectures of Theodore Beza, who at that time expounded the Epistle to the Romans. He had the misfortune to displease some of the principal members of the academy, by publicly maintaining the philosophy of Ramus, and that with much heat, and even teaching it in private. For this he was obliged to retire, and went to Basil, where he was received with applause. He read public lectures there, and acquired such credit, that the faculty of divinity would have given him the degree of doctor without any expense. He modestly declined the offer, and returned to Geneva, where, finding the adversaries of the Ramists somewhat cooled, he moderated his own heat likewise.”—*Bayles' Historical and Critical Dictionary*. This extract, from a writer

a few words ; from the time in which Arminius returned to us from Basil, both his erudition and life have been so commendable among us, that should he continue on in the same course—which we think he will do by the blessing of God—we may hope everything that is best from him. For God has conferred upon him, among other things, a felicitous genius for perceiving and discriminating, to which if his piety—of which he shows himself zealous—be regulated accordingly, it cannot be but that this power of genius, confirmed as well by age as by experience, shall produce the richest fruits.” Not much after this Arminius went to Rome ; but the Mæcenases took this sadly to heart, and many sinister reports were scattered abroad concerning him, from which he fully vindicated himself upon his return home ;* and afterward he was called to be the regular pastor of the church at Amsterdam.

A dispute then chanced to come up between Coornhertius, Arnoldus Cornelius, and Reyner Donteklok, ministers, concerning

who was far from sympathizing with the theological views of Arminius, will enable the reader to appreciate the unjust censures of Dr. Miller upon his conduct while at Geneva, which is easily attributable to the ardor of youth, and the violent opposition which he met with from the advocates of Aristotle’s system.—*Tr.*

* “ He had a great desire to see Italy, and particularly that he might hear the philosophical lectures of the famous James Zabarella, at Padua. He satisfied this curiosity, and passed six or seven months in his travels ; after which he returned to Geneva, and from thence to Amsterdam, where he found he had been sufficiently censured in relation to his journey into Italy, which had a little cooled the affection of the magistrates, his patrons, and Mæcenases. He easily justified himself with persons of understanding ; but there were some weak and suspicious spirits, who could not get over this stumbling-block till he had made the whole church sensible of his fine talent at preaching ; by the means of which he gained the love and esteem of all the world.”—*Bayle.*

The reports circulated concerning Arminius were, “ that he had kissed the pope’s slipper—although he had never seen the sovereign pontiff except once, when he with a multitude of other spectators saw him at a distance ;”—“ that he had frequented the company and the assemblies of the Jesuits, men whom he had never heard ; that he had formed an acquaintance with Cardinal Bellarmine, whose face he had never beheld ; and that he had abjured the true and orthodox religion, for which he was prepared manfully to contend, and even to shed his blood in its defense.”—*Vide the Funeral Oration in Nichols’ Works of Arminius.*

It is a little curious that the learned author of the Essay on the Synod of Dort, or, as I should rather say, of the *splendid invective against Arminius and the Remonstrants*, did not seize upon this calumny also, from which he certainly could have forged one or two more thunderbolts to launch at the head of the poor Leyden professor.—*Tr.*

divine predestination. Arminius was requested by the presbytery of Amsterdam to refute the tract of Coornhertius; the same undertaking was recommended to him by Martin Lydius. But upon an examination of this tract, many difficulties with regard to predestination arose in the way of Arminius, from which he was not able to extricate himself; therefore he relinquished the refutation for a time, and applied himself wholly to a more careful inspection of that dogma.

He was in the habit of explaining, in his lectures, the Epistle to the Romans: when he came to the seventh chapter he interpreted the whole—but especially the latter part—from the fourteenth verse to the end—as referring to an unregenerate man, whose misery the apostle describes under his own person. A strife was raised from this explanation, led on more particularly by Peter Plancius, and it was objected to Arminius, that, by his explanation, he opposed himself to the received doctrine of the church, and patronized the Pelagian opinion. But this contention was allayed by the prudence of the magistracy: Arminius also drew up a written article concerning the sense of the seventh of Romans, in which he showed his opinion consentaneous with the Holy Scriptures, and with the doctrine of all the fathers before Augustine, and even of some of the reformed teachers.

When Arminius passed to the explanation of the ninth chapter, he did not interpret it as having reference to absolute predestination, but maintained that the apostle, in this, refuted the objections of the Jews, brought against his own opinion concerning justification, as it was set forth in the preceding heads. Here, though Arminius did not refute the expositions of other teachers, but merely proposed and set forth his own, he was still not able to escape the indignation of many. In proof of heterodoxy, among other things it was objected to Arminius, that the Lutherans, Mennonites, and others, in great numbers crowded to hear his discourses, which was urged as arguing some agreement in doctrine. Very often an action was brought against him in the council concerning the sense of the ninth chapter of Romans. He contended that he had held forth nothing contrary to sacred Scripture and the confession of the churches, and challenged his adversaries to come forth openly. When Arminius had done this on several occasions, and because no one raised an objection against him, at length Kuchlinus says, Where now is Plancius? let him now come forward and prove his accusations against Arminius. Plancius, thus called upon, came forth, and objected a few things to Arminius, which, when he had easily swept away, the dispute was set-

bled. From that time Arminius for many years lived quietly in that church.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics, who had decreed to celebrate a national synod in Holland at the end of every three years,—which now for many years the states had not permitted to assemble,—demanded from the states the convocation of such a synod. The states of Holland consented to this request, but with the condition, that in this assembly a revision of the Belgic Confession and Heidelberg Catechism should be instituted. This condition was displeasing to the ecclesiastics, and therefore they did not further urge the convocation of a synod.

In the mean time Arminius was straitened in his mind by various scruples with regard to divine predestination, which he desired to be removed. Therefore nothing was more in accordance with his wishes than to confer with some learned man concerning predestination, by whose aid all those doubts which tortured his mind might be taken away. Here, while he was looking around for some bosom into which he could pour forth his own reflections, a favorable opportunity was afforded him of conversing kindly and confidentially with Francis Junius, a most learned professor of sacred theology in the University of Leyden, at the nuptials of Kuchlinus, to which both Junius and Arminius had been invited. Junius had published, in the year 1595, a book concerning the first sin of Adam, and the nature of the cause by which he was induced to sin. Therefore occasion being taken from this, he held several conversations with Junius concerning the cause of the fall of Adam, its manner, and also concerning contingency and freedom. At length Arminius made known that he hesitated in various points with regard to the doctrine of predestination, and that he hoped to be able to extricate himself by the aid of Junius. Junius most cordially offered his aid if Arminius would disclose his considerations by letter, which Arminius engaged to do. And hence, by means of epistles, a conference arose with Junius which was brought to light after the death of each. Not long after Arminius, that he might investigate more deeply the doctrine of predestination, wrote for his own special benefit an *Examination of the book of Perkins concerning the mode and degree of predestination*.

In the year 1600 the Synod of Southern Holland imposed upon Arminius the responsibility of overthrowing and refuting all the errors of the Anabaptists. Arminius entered upon this charge with a ready mind: but when afterward he perceived that the burden was imposed upon him, not so much that a substantial refutation of those errors was expected, as that they might draw out from that

refutation his opinion concerning some dogmas,—and especially with regard to predestination and free will,—and so obtain a more palpable occasion of criminating him; he considered it his duty to proceed but slowly in that undertaking. He had gone so far in the work that new difficulties immediately arose, from which he was not able fully to free himself; therefore he thought best to relinquish it entirely.

The same year the Harleinese, in settling the troubles to be considered by the synod, maintained that the subscription of the confession and catechism ought to be annually repeated by all the ministers of the church; but Arminius thought this injurious to the ministers and prejudicial to their liberty.

About the end of the year 1602, first by the death of Luke Trelcatius, and afterward of Francis Junius, the theological professorship in the University of Leyden was vacant. Here the curators turned their eyes toward Arminius, whose erudition could no longer pass unnoticed. Thysius had often praised him, and called him “a light of the Netherlands, and one born for the universities.” Therefore, not rashly, nor without reason, did the curators believe that Arminius was destined to the profession of theology. Some of the ministers of Amsterdam, especially, sharply opposed appointing Arminius; and besides these, Gomarus, professor of theology, and Kuchlinus, regent of the theological college. The objections of Kuchlinus were easily dissipated. Gomarus went to the curators, and wished, with many others, to deter them from the appointment of Arminius. The curators, with mature deliberation, and after a conference had taken place by their order between Arminius and Uitenbogardus, allotted to him the theological professorship. The deputies of the churches endeavored to throw some hinderance in the way; but the curators, in order that every obstacle might be removed, appointed certain deputies of Amsterdam to offer Arminius his professorship, and to influence the Council of Amsterdam to part with him. But the council answered the deputies that they could not be deprived of Arminius on any consideration, because of the excellent services he afforded to their own church.* When it was urged, that if they

* The following note from Nichols explains more fully the relation existing between Arminius and the magistrates of Amsterdam. After speaking of their taking upon themselves the responsibility of completing his education, he says,—“On his part, Arminius, by a bond in his own hand-writing, which he sealed and delivered into the hands of the magistrates, promised to consider himself engaged, during the rest of his life, exclusively in the service of that city; and to devote himself, after being admitted into holy orders, to no other

had detected any impurity in the doctrine of Arminius, and if the deputies would corroborate it, and he could be convicted of the same, the curators did not wish to urge his appointment to that station, it was answered by the council, that this was by no means the case, but that there were other reasons which stood opposed to their giving him up. When the deputies pressed the matter, at length the council consented to his removal, but added two conditions, the first of which was, that Gomarus might be the first professor of theology, for the sake of avoiding emulation; the second, that a friendly conference should be instituted between Gomarus and Arminius, in order that by this step better satisfaction might be given to him and others.

This conference between Gomarus and Arminius was held in the presence of the curators and two senators. Although some were invited from the presbytery of Amsterdam, none were present; nor were any of the deputies of the synod there, except Arnold, Cornelius, and Werner Helmichius. The conference commenced with the exposition of the seventh chapter of Romans, and certain points which occur in the reply of Arminius to Junius, which had been shown to no one by Arminius, but had been found by Gomarus among the papers of Junius after his decease. Certain persons from Amsterdam had reported various things to Gomarus concerning the exposition of Arminius upon the seventh chapter of Romans; but since none of them agreed, he saw that he could prove nothing against him; for those things which were objected by Gomarus, Arminius did not acknowledge as his sentiments, and moreover, denied that what he himself held forth was contrary to the confession and catechism. Therefore Arminius was requested to make known his opinions, which he excused by saying, that since certain ones seemed to have instigated Gomarus to accuse him of impurity in doctrine, such therefore ought to be present that they might prove their own accusation, and not that he should be compelled to make an accusation against himself with his own mouth. When Gomarus and the deputies of the synod declared that they had nothing against him or his doctrine, Arminius then unfolded copiously and elegantly his opinion concerning the seventh chapter of Romans, in which all acquiesced. After this Arminius placed his exposition of that chapter upon the table, and wished Gomarus or some one of the deputies to examine it; but when no one touched it, Arminius took it again, and this being done, they gave him the right hand of fellowship. Not long church in any city or town whatever, unless by the special consent of those who for the time being might execute the office of burgomasters."—*Tr.*

after Arminius obtained the degree of doctor in theology, through the instrumentality of Gomarus, and was sent to Leyden honored with the most ample testimony from the Council of Amsterdam.

In the performance of his official duties he explained especially certain books of the Old Testament, commencing at Jonah; yet in such a manner that when occasion was given he explained some place of the New Testament. This Gomarus bore indignantly; and when he met Arminius, said to him rather angrily, "You have encroached upon my profession." Arminius responded with mild words, and disproved the accusation. After that, when a series of disputes, which began to take place between Gomarus and himself, required that he should hold a public discussion concerning predestination, Arminius gave his opinion, that divine predestination was a decree in which God determined to justify and save the faithful in Christ, and those persevering in the faith, but to condemn the unfaithful. But Gomarus opposed him with a disputation, which was out of place; and mounting the professor's chair with an agitated mind, explained the causes which had impelled him to hold this unseasonable discussion;* where he said not a few things in which evidently Arminius was openly censured, who, though present, silently endured all. But he wrote an examination of that disputation, which at length, many years after his death, was brought to light by Stephen Curcellæus. Then a rumor began to be spread abroad concerning the discussions between the professors of the university, and the deeds and words of Arminius were distorted into an evil aspect. In the first place Festus Hommius began to calumniate the reputation of Arminius secretly, and to speak many things against him in his absence; whom, nevertheless, Arminius so confuted face to face before certain ministers of the gospel, that he was struck dumb. Certain ones also began to institute severer examinations of his pupils, when they became worthy to be promoted to public assemblies; and if they did not

* "In treating of and defending his positions, he [Arminius] is reported to have behaved himself very decently, without once naming or meddling with others of a different opinion, that he might avoid offense. But Gomarus, his colleague, a man of great learning, whom we have had occasion to mention frequently, looked upon these matters with a different eye. About eight months after [the time when the theses of Arminius appeared] he advanced, though out of his turn, and contrary to the method that had been before agreed upon, several theses about predestination, diametrically opposed to those of Arminius, disputing on them partly out of zeal, and in defense of his own opinions, and partly, as it is thought, at the instigation of others."—*Brandt*, vol. ii, book xviii, p. 31.

answer in all things according to their notions, or answered in other words than they were accustomed to employ, they immediately proposed new questions, in order that they might be able to elicit something which they could possibly blame; and whatsoever was answered less according to their own taste, they cast upon Arminius.

At length the deputies of the Synods of Northern and Southern Holland were sent for the purpose of instituting a conference with Arminius himself, and thus finding out the purport of his doctrine. This manner of proceeding Arminius judged to be unfair; because if any one of his disciples answered contrary to the confession, and would say that he had this from him, he declared that he was prepared to correct his own doctrine. Nevertheless, if they were willing to lay aside their dignity as deputies, and permit the same liberty to others which they claimed for themselves, that is, of explaining their own opinion and refuting the contrary, he showed himself prepared for a conference: nevertheless, this was subjoined as a condition, that no relation of that conference should be made unless in a national synod. When this condition was rejected, he proposed another—that they should offer the same conference in their respective colleges, for he had not given a greater occasion for such a controversy than they themselves. Thus they separated. Arminius thought his adversaries wished to create disturbances, that they might blame him as the author of them, and so compel him to come forth openly. But he judged such a step to be unseasonable; and by how much they sought for causes of criminating him, by so much he was reserved, that he might not on any account be thought the author of tumults. Hence also the conference which, not long after, the assembly of Leyden sought by several deputies, he modestly declined.

In the year 1605 the Classis of Dort exhibited the following memorial, to be considered in the next synod:—"Since rumors are abroad that certain controversies have arisen in the church and University of Leyden concerning the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, the classis has thought it necessary that the synod should deliberate concerning the means by which these controversies may be most conveniently and quickly determined, in order that it may occur seasonably for all schismatics and offenders that may arise from thence; and that the union of the Reformed Churches may be preserved against the calumnies of their adversaries." In this memorial Arminius and his followers were full openly censured. The curators of the college having called before them the professors of theology, and having brought forward the aforesaid memo-

rial into the midst, asked whether there was an agreement among them with regard to controversies of this kind. They having besought space to deliberate, and having considered the memorial apart, responded unanimously, that they would have wished that the classis had acted more considerately; that they were of opinion that among the students there might perhaps be more disputes than were pleasing to themselves; but that among the professors of theology, as far as they were concerned, there was no difference in the essentials of doctrine. To this response Kuchlinus, regent of the college, also subscribed.

The Synod of Southern Holland, assembled that year at Rotterdam, decreed that the controversies which had arisen in the university should be most diligently inquired into by means of delegates. The deputies presented nine questions to the curators, in order that they should constrain the professors to declare their opinion concerning them. But this the curators refused to do, and determined to reject those questions at the national synod, for some hope of having one was now beginning to dawn. Besides, the curators were not willing that even the deputies themselves should place the questions before the professors. All these things were transacted by the deputies unknown to Arminius; so much so that their coming into the city was concealed from him for several days. After this Arminius, by the aid of his friends, having obtained a copy of those questions, wrote an answer to them for the benefit of his followers.

Arminius being everywhere sought after, conducted himself mildly and cautiously in his official relation. He was in favor with the students, both on account of his uncommon erudition, and also of his remarkable affability and benevolence; hence he attracted to himself a great number equally in private circles as in public assemblies. This kindled up against him no small envy in the breast of Gomarus, his colleague, which Gomarus was not able to dissemble; for he was heard to say, with some irritation of mind, to Arminius, going from his auditorium, "They say that you are more learned than Junius." Also Plancius at Amsterdam often inveighed full sharply against him and his followers in public assemblies, and traduced them with the names of Coornhertians, New Pelagians, and other odious appellations. Some spread it among the crowd in the most hateful terms, that the doctrine of the Belgic Confession, sealed with the blood of so many martyrs, was called in question; others that a kind of libertinism was being introduced.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics demanded from the confederate

states the convocation of a national synod. This was granted, but under the same condition with which the states of Holland had granted one eight years before—that without fail in that synod a revision of the confession and catechism should be instituted. This condition was not pleasing to many of the ecclesiastics.

The Synod of Gorkum required of their deputies—who were to report what was done by them toward promoting a synod among the states, and also to announce the decree of the states concerning a synod—that they should see not only that the wishes of the states were met as far as possible, but also that nothing was done prejudicial to the churches: and that those who should be summoned to the preparatory convention should be admonished to request, in the name of the churches, that the clause concerning the revision of the confession and catechism should be taken away, and that a milder one, and liable to less exception, should be substituted. The synod moreover commanded all the pastors, and also the professors of theology, to weigh and investigate the confession and catechism diligently; and that the ministers should exhibit their considerations to the classes, but the professors were to present theirs to the deputies of the synods, by whom, after that, they were to be exhibited in the national synod. Many thought this decree prejudicial to themselves and to their liberty; that their considerations could be offered more properly to the national synod itself; that this decree provided that those should be detected who hesitated with regard to anything in the confession, and desired to recall some point in it to an examination. They thought too this decree was made in order that their considerations should be circulated in the classes, and that judgment should be pronounced concerning them; and that if there were those who did not acquiesce in this judgment, the case might then be brought by appeal to the national synod, and they would be called as it were to tell the cause of the affair, and so be condemned without any previous conference being instituted concerning their considerations, which fear was by no means groundless, as the event too plainly showed in the Synod of Dort.

In this year a dispute was conducted under Arminius concerning the Trinity: the question had arisen from the occasion of a certain objection, whether the Son was rightly called *αὐτοθεός*? Arminius assumed the negative; hence a rumor was spread abroad that he lightly esteemed the Godhead of the Son.* In the year

* The word *αὐτοθεός* may be used with two different significations; it may mean *one who is truly God*, or *one who is God from himself*. A pupil of Arminius, at a disputation held in the university, where *the divinity of the Son*

1599, Arminius, in an epistle to Uitenbogardus, had already declared his opinion as to this question extensively and perspicuously.

All things now tended to the convocation of a national synod: therefore the power of holding a preparatory convention was sought from the states of Holland by the deputies of the Synod of Northern and Southern Holland. Several from the different confederate states convened in assembly at the Hague on the 22d day of May: the states proposed eight questions concerning the mode and form of holding a synod. All easily agreed among themselves with regard to the place and time, and whatever concerned the mode.

But there was especially a difference concerning the three following heads:—1. Concerning the judge in the negotiation of doctrinal controversies. Gomarus and those who sided with him thought it was the part of the ministers delegated from the churches to the synod to define the controversies concerning doctrine with a peremptory judgment. But Arminius and his followers urged, that not only those delegated under the name of synod, but also the delegating, should be acquainted with the proceedings; and moreover, that it was the duty of the delegates to instruct those who had delegated them in the entire controversy, to listen to their suffrages, and not to determine any point against their will.

Another controversy was concerning the rule according to which they should be judged. Arminius and his party thought the divine word was to be regarded as the only rule to which they might apply; and moreover, that the judges evidently ought to be free from every other obligation by which they had bound themselves in their subscription to the confession, though the judicial act should still remain. Gomarus, with his party, wished the judges to be indeed governed by the divine word; nevertheless, in such a way that it would be right for them to refer to the Confession of the Belgic churches.

The third controversy was concerning the revision of the confession and catechism. Gomarus and his followers thought the clause

of God was the subject of discussion, objected that the Son was *αυτοθεος* in the latter sense, that is, *God from himself*, who had in reality an essence in common with the Father, but not communicated by the Father. While Arminius admitted that the word *αυτοθεος* was applicable to the Son in the former sense, to the latter and truly dangerous interpretation he assumed a decided negative. The following double ternary, expressed in his own words, will perhaps better exhibit his views on this subject:—"HE IS GOD; *he has the divine essence*: HE IS THE FATHER; *he has it from no one*: HE IS THE SON; *he has it from the Father*."—*Vide Nichols' Works of Arminius*, vol. ii, art. xxi.—Tr.

concerning a revision ought to be omitted in the letters for the convocation of the synod, and another substituted in its place ; while Arminius and his followers thought the existing clause should be retained. From this occasion a question began to be agitated concerning the necessity of a revision, in which dispute Gomarus said, among other things, that "he indeed considered the word of God as the primary rule, but the confession and catechism as the secondary rule." Bogerman added, that "the sacred writings should be interpreted according to the confession and catechism," which the rest approved. Arminius thought sentiments of this kind savored of Popery. Nevertheless, in order that he might consult with his brethren for the peace of the churches, he consented that the short clause concerning a revision should be omitted in the letters of convocation, provided this omission was made without any prejudgment of the revision itself. These results were exhibited to the states-general.

On account of this discrepancy of suffrages with reference to holding a synod, Arminius and those of his sentiments were censured in the remarks of many, not otherwise than if they had desired to occasion a delay of the synod's convocation. The Synod of Northern Holland, convened not long after at Amsterdam on account of these things, sharply censured Arminius and Uitenbogardus. But again Sibrandus Lubbertus, in his letters written to Melvinus, Paræus, and others, where he related the proceeding, not in accordance with truth, endeavored to render Arminius and Uitenbogardus everywhere hated, who, when they had obtained a transcript of the communications written to Melvinus by letters sufficiently explanatory, swept away the calumnies of Sibrandus.

The Synod of Southern Holland requested from Uitenbogart the reason of his course in the preparatory convention. But he contended that the reason was to be given to the states themselves, by whom he, with the rest, was called to bear suffrages freely, and by whose mandate in that assembly he had never been directed. From this occasion a dispute arose in the synod concerning the right of the magistracy with regard to sacred things.

Then the synod began to act concerning the revision of the confession and catechism ; and when the deputies of some of the classes remarked, that no observations had been brought forward, Uitenbogart and others answered, that they were about to turn themselves seriously to the examination of those writings, and they would hand over their observations, if they had any, in proper time. The synod was not satisfied with that response, but inquired

whether he had any considerations. He answered, that all things necessary to salvation were contained in those books, and that he approved of all that concerned the essentials of doctrine. The president further inquired whether he believed all the words and phrases contained in those writings to be agreeable in substance with the Scriptures. But he responded, that such a declaration could not be made extempore, but there would be need of a suitable space of time to consider this business. At length the synod commanded all to consider the writings attentively, not only with regard to the substance of the doctrine, but also with reference to the words and phrases. But going further, it decreed to ask from the states a provincial assembly, gathered together from the two Synods of Northern and Southern Holland, to which as many doctors of theology and ministers should be called as was pleasing to the synod, who should be compelled to a friendly conference upon all the heads of the Christian faith, in order that the church might give its judgment as to the merits of the controversies, and apply a remedy for the purpose of allaying dissensions, and preserving, as far as possible, purity of doctrine. But since by this decree they were thought to wish to introduce this synod instead of a national one, and to infringe upon the decree of the states concerning the revision of the confession and catechism, and to violate their right of convoking a synod, the states were far from giving it their sanction. But Arminius and Uitenbogaardus, since they had as yet been everywhere traduced on account of their suffrages in the preparatory convention, handed in to the states the reasons of their suffrages, embraced in writing.

The same year a small book was issued at Gouda, for the purpose of instigating youth to piety, which afterward became celebrated under the title of the Gouda Catechism. It was written lucidly and short, and was pleasing to many, because, having omitted controversial dogmas, it breathed forth a Christian simplicity, and contained, in a few words, and those the very ones employed by the Scriptures themselves, all that was necessary to be believed. Others condemned this book as either omitting or taking away the primary heads of faith; and they contended that the simplicity which was suited to the primitive church, when evils as yet unknown required no remedies, was not adapted to the church existing in their own time; and moreover, that this book was a lurking place of errors. But also Reyner Donteklokkius, minister at Delft, published a pungent pamphlet against it; and thus, by a public writing, became the first author of strife and discord in the Belgic churches. In this year the very same Don-

teklokkius produced a refutation of a certain book of Castellio upon predestination.

It was not sufficient to traduce Arminius and Uitenbogardus on account of their suffrages,—calumny proceeded still further. A rumor was spread abroad that the Roman pontiff had committed the protection of the Romish Church to Arminius and Uitenbogardus by means of the most benignant letters, and the promise of great reward. Others added, that Arminius was accustomed to recommend to his disciples the writings of Castellio and Coornhert; also of Suarez and other Jesuits; but that he spoke contemptuously concerning the writings of Calvin, Beza, Martyr, Zanchius, Ursinus, and other distinguished doctors of the Reformed Church. But these calumnies Arminius received with a generous mind, and refuted in an excellent epistle to Sebastian Egberts, consul of Amsterdam.

About this time thirty-one articles were scattered abroad, in which proof was attempted of the heterodoxy of Arminius on various heads of the Christian religion. But when Arminius had obtained them, he wrote an apologetical answer, in which he unfolded clearly and openly his own opinion. Whence it appears that these were got up calumniously, or at least expressed in too extravagant terms.

Hippolytus a Collibus, the legate of the count Palatine, when Arminius was now also slandered at the palatinate, sought an interview with him. Arminius candidly and openly laid before him his opinion concerning the Godhead of the Son, providence, divine predestination, grace, and free will, and finally concerning justification; and afterward, by request of this individual, he comprehended his opinion in writing in a learned epistle sent to the same, which is now extant in his works.

But when Arminius and Uitenbogardus saw that sinister rumors concerning themselves multiplied every day, they complained of their injuries in a supplicating pamphlet, written to the states of Holland, and entreated the convocation of a national synod. In the mean time Arminius privately brought out a supplicating pamphlet, in which he endeavored to persuade the states not to hesitate to investigate lawfully his own cause, and either by means of a conference, or an ecclesiastical convention to be held under their own supervision, to find out some mode by which a way would be opened to the refutation of so many calumnies. Therefore a conference was decreed by the states of Holland between Arminius and Gomarus, in presence of the supreme judiciary senate. To this decree the deputies of the churches were opposed, urging the

synod that judgment in an ecclesiastical cause belonged wholly to ecclesiastical functionaries. The states responded, that they had not committed the judgment, but only the examination of the cause, to the supreme senate; but the judgment itself was to be given up to a synod, either provincial or national. When both were face to face in the synod, Gomarus began to weave delays, by asking questions with regard to the reason of the dissension between himself and Arminius, and to urge an exception to the assembly. At length, after various speeches, he handed over his opinion, embraced in writing, concerning the various articles. Arminius did the same, and also manifested his willingness to draw up and deliver over in writing considerations upon the confession and catechism when it should seem fit to the states. The deputies of the senate reported to the states of Holland that there was no difference between the professors upon any fundamental article of faith. Gomarus, having requested the liberty to speak, said he would not dare to stand before the bar of God with the opinion of his colleague, and greatly exaggerated the dissension,* to which Arminius replied with moderation.

The states then suspended the ordinary synods for a time, but afterward permitted them to assemble, under the condition that they would not decide the controversies between the professors, or constrain the pastors to make known their considerations upon the confession and catechism. The Synod of Southern Holland decreed directly contrary. But the states sadly endured this, and commanded all those who had any considerations, to deliver them over to the deputies of the states sealed and inclosed with a signet, to be preserved until a provincial synod should be held: they also prohibited each synod from taking any step against those ministers who had exhibited their suffrages in the preparatory assembly at the Hague before the states-general.

Not much after Arminius was called into a convention of the states-general, that he might give them his sentiments by word of mouth, which he did sufficiently full and prolix, and also handed in the declaration of his opinion, comprehended in writing. Gomarus, also, sought to be heard personally by the states-general. He made various accusations against Arminius, and boiled over so immoderately, that he compared Arminius to Arius, Uitenbogardus to Eusebius, a courtier who had misled the emperor Constantine.

* "Some were of opinion that the stiffness of *Gomarus* was the cause that the council could not make up these differences; insomuch that one said, 'that he had rather appear before the tribunal of God with the faith of Arminius, than with the charity of Gomarus.'"—*Brandt*, vol. ii, p. 48.

At length, in conclusion, he entreated the states to convoke a provincial synod, and commit to him the examination of the controversies.

Arminius, in the year 1604, had already, as we have just narrated, drawn up *theses* on predestination, subsequent to the series of disputes which had before taken place between Gomarus and himself. Gomarus, either from his own inclination, or instigated by others, opposed them with a contrary disputation, which was not in order, in which he declared his opinion concerning the predestination of man before his fall as a considerate being, and stated the object of predestination to be, "a creature rational, damnable, capable of being created, and repaired." These two disputations, translated into the Belgic tongue, were brought to light in the year 1609. Reyner Donteklokkius, minister of Delft, now an old man, published a dialogue, in which he contended that the sentiments of Arminius were in direct opposition to the received opinion of the Reformed Churches, which obtained in those regions, and were intolerable in a professor of theology; and though Gomarus ascended somewhat higher than the received opinion, yet his sentiments, notwithstanding, accorded with it much the best. Against this dialogue Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus published a *Christian-like and serious admonition to peace*, in which he contended that the sentiments, not of Arminius, but of Gomarus, receded most from the opinion of the churches, since the Belgic churches had never recognized for their own the more rigid opinion which goes before and beyond the fall. Donteklok opposed him with a response, in which he criminales the admonisher of meditating a change in religion, which slander Corvinus dissipated in a published declaration sufficiently prolix. These things the professors did not agitate among themselves; yet a dispute which was now beginning to break out they did exceedingly increase. Wherefore the states, in the month of July, summoned Arminius and Gomarus to the Hague, in order that in their hearing they might institute a conference concerning the controversies which had arisen, if possibly some means might be devised by which peace could be preserved in the church: but they met with poor success. Gomarus magnified the controversies much; and not long after it became necessary for the conference to be broken off on account of the infirm health of Arminius. For some time Arminius had languished in body, and this conference had scarcely ended when he fell into an afflicting disease, of which he died on the 19th of October. Arminius was a pious man, and one who feared God: he was prudent and independent, while at the same time he had a mild and gentle

disposition, and was exceedingly zealous for the peace of the church. But he lived in stormy times, and came in collision with Gomarus, a man subject to anger, and of very ungovernable temper. But that no one may accuse me of writing from prejudice, I will refer to the judgment of persons who will be the least suspected by those who think differently from Arminius. John Hornbeck, who, in an oration concerning the communion of the churches, does not fear to call Arminius "the violator of the league, by whom the devil excited the public commotion of the country and of the churches," gives him nevertheless, in another place, "a more gentle spirit." Matthias Martinus, not long after the death of Arminius, in an epistle to Conrad Vorstius, gave him this eulogy:—"The sainted Arminius has certainly departed. I spake with him especially concerning the articles which were everywhere reported to be scattered abroad, and exhibited to the states, and which he complained had been calumniously manufactured against him. Even then he was sick, and that beyond his control; wherefore I inferred that he ought to be annoyed as little as possible, and that my conversations with him should not be too frequent and extended. He appeared to me a man who truly feared God, possessed great erudition, and was well acquainted with theological controversies; powerful in the Scriptures; truly cautious and *ακριβης* in applying philosophical distinctions to theology. With regard to his errors, what they are, how great, and how many, I have not yet been able to find out. God knows the truth of the matter." The author who has written the biography of Antonius Walæus, which is found in *Vitæ Selectorum Aliquot Virorum*, although he everywhere violently inveighs against the Remonstrants, nevertheless says, concerning Arminius, "He was of a discriminating genius, solid in erudition, approved in morals."*

* That Arminius never meditated a division in the Reformed Church must be apparent from the steadfast integrity of his life and character, which appeared so beautiful, even in the eyes of his enemies, as to gain their admiration and respect. But the true causes which led him, or I should perhaps say impelled him, to adopt the course he did, are very happily set forth in the following little allegory, taken from Brandt, and extracted by him from a small Latin work entitled, *Mythologia Christiana*, or *Christian Fables*:—"JACOBUS ARMINIUS, being weary of a city life, built himself a little cottage in the land of Divine Philanthropy, whither his friends repaired to him, in order to pass their time agreeably. Envy squinting at it, and suspecting that he kept there, I know not what sort of a conventicle, or unlawful assembly, prevailed so far upon Importunity, (or Indiscreet Zeal,) that the inhabitants were forbidden to resort thither. But this excited them to go more frequently, and in greater numbers, and at last, by joining their houses to the country seat of Arminius,

But the same author describes Gomarus very differently: "Francis Gomarus, a man of much erudition, with a zeal fervid and vehement." And again: "A man giving too free scope to his own passions." And finally: "Gomarus was not morose or malignant, but passionate, and in a sudden emergency not easily his own master." But Walter Balcanqual, sent by the king of Great Britain, in the name of the Scottish churches, to the Synod of Dort, who, while the synod was in session, had a fair opportunity of finding out more particularly the natural disposition of Gomarus, describes him more fully and expressly in a letter to Carleton, the legate of the king. After he had narrated the sharp invectives of Lubbertus and Gomarus against the divines of Bremen, in which Gomarus grew so warm that he became out of breath, and from this cause was obliged to break off his speech, at length he thus concludes: "There are two men in the synod, Sibrandus, and especially Gomarus, who are destined to disturb all things in the synod, and keep alive dissensions, unless restrained by timely remedies." And in another epistle: "It seems to me there had been much less disturbance in the synod if two men had been absent, for when they are present the synod has no lack of disturbances—I mean Sibrandus and Gomarus, who have their alternate changes of raging and storming. The last storm before to-day thundered forth on the side of Gomarus; to-day Sibrandus inveighed against our brotherhood with so great wrath and extravagance, and with such a bitterness of words, that revenge can be taken upon him in no way better than by the bare relation of the words which he uttered; and which each president, the political as well as ecclesiastical, interrupted while he was endeavoring to go on." And a little after: "As far as regards Sibrandus and Gomarus, I cannot blame them on account of their fury, any more than the stone which falls downward; for so they were created by nature."

Immediately after the death of Arminius a new controversy,

to form no small town. This example was immediately followed by many others, and it became a great city before people were aware of it; which, for their own security, they found themselves obliged to fortify with walls and ditches. Arminius stood amazed at his new city, and spake thus:—I protest before God, that I never intended any such thing, but Importunity is to be thanked for it, who, as she stirred up Reuchlinus, Erasmus, and Luther, and other heroes, and raised them up to the summit of affairs, so has she also necessitated us, by the unseasonable and blind zeal of some, to this building of a new city, where we can now hear more moderate things with respect to God's will toward us, and such as are more conformable to the Holy Scriptures."—*Tr.*

which had long since begun to burn, concerning the authority of the Christian magistrate in sacred things, revived. The ministers who came from Geneva and the palatinate into our country, that they might here also hold forth the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, deeply imbued with the tenets of their own magistrates, ascribed to them an authority and power with regard to the external government of the church which belongs to no man, but directly to the Lord Jesus Christ himself; that is, of founding ecclesiastical laws, and directing all things conformably to them, and of suspending those who are found to transgress, either from the use of the *holy* supper for a certain time, or of excommunicating and delivering them up to Satan, according as the weight of the offense might require. To this end they formed consistories, which should be ecclesiastical tribunals, in which the ministers, with their presbyters, were to pronounce sentence concerning the case, whatsoever it might be, according to ecclesiastical laws. And this power they called the key, delivered to them directly from the Lord Jesus himself, which, moreover, could not possibly be subjected to the power of a magistrate. In the beginning of the war with the king of Spain, when the country was disturbed with military tumults and various cruelties, which were everywhere noised abroad, and the magistrates, wholly occupied with the direction of the state, found no leisure to consult concerning ecclesiastical affairs, the ministers convoked some synods by their own authority, and in these founded ecclesiastical laws according to their own will; some of which the magistrates, when they had reduced their political affairs to a better condition, and commenced their designs of deliberating upon ecclesiastical interests, judged to bring no small prejudice to their own power: such among others was the law concerning excluding Anabaptists from the state, with this pretext, that they hesitated to take oath under a certain religion.* Philip de

* The gospel dispensation, which was ushered into the world by the voice of angels, proclaiming "peace on earth and good will to man," has been too often disgraced by persecution and the shedding of innocent blood. The rigorous proceedings of some of the Reformed Churches against the Anabaptists were often carried to such an extent that the civil power was obliged to interfere. The consistories frequently prohibited all meetings of this sect for religious worship within the bounds of their jurisdiction, and also, when possible, enlisted the civil power on their side, in order to bring to their own terms those whom they considered schismatics and heretics. But we must not expect the character of the reformers will appear spotless when seen in the mirror of the present, upon which is concentrated all the borrowed light of past ages. The imperfect views which then prevailed as to the relations between church and state, fully account for the error of the Remon-

Marnix describes this more fully in an epistle to Gaspar Heidanus : that the prince "pretended this could not be brought about without a new convulsion of the churches, on which account the states would not suffer a law of this kind to pass, which they judged was evidently not according to the policy of the state. Besides," he would confidently assert that "this was the only cause why the consistories had come so far into disrepute among the states-general, that it lacked very little of their being entirely destroyed by a decree of the senate." The same wrote Adrian Saravia, then professor in the University of Leyden, to Werner Helmichius,—“I see our oversight of the churches is everywhere suspected by the magistrates, as if under it lay concealed some tyranny, which at length, in process of time, gaining strength, would subject to itself the power of the magistrates. It is remarkable how impatient is the human mind of illegal command, for it hates all who wish to vindicate to themselves some power.” From that time this question was often renewed between the magistrates and ministers, until, after various deliberations and remedies fruitlessly applied, at length the states of Holland, in order that they might put an end to this contention, and that no prejudice might be created against either party, chose eight political and eight ecclesiastical deputies, who should form ecclesiastical laws, which the states, after mature examination, should confirm with their own authority. But it was disapproved by most of the ministers, that political men should be deputized to form ecclesiastical laws, when the ecclesiastics claimed this to themselves alone ; and especially that in that formation of laws some greater power was ascribed to the magistrate than they wished. On the other hand, the deputies of certain states pretended that too much authority was given to the ecclesiastics against them : therefore they had never held the strength of the law. In the mean time the ecclesiastics, if any controversies arose concerning certain dogmas, decided all things according to the great extent of their own power : they desired that those who were condemned by their sentence should be exauctorated, and coerced by the magistracy with civil punishments : and besides, that those differing in no way from the public church should be tolerated as citizens ; so that they themselves might be the sole judges in ecclesiastical affairs, but the magistrates the executors of ecclesiastical judgments. This

strants on the one hand, who conceded too much to the state, and of the contra-Remonstrants on the other, who employed the civil power for the punishment of those who were so unfortunate as to differ from them in their religious opinions.—*Tr.*

contest revived when the dispute commenced concerning the revision of the confession and catechism, and concerning the convocation of a synod to decide the controversies which had arisen upon divine predestination. The ecclesiastics wished that the considerations, if any were to be offered, should be exhibited to themselves, and that a synod should be enrolled, in which they might pronounce peremptory sentence concerning those considerations, and all the controversies which had arisen: and this they urged with such a warm temper, and with so great vehemence of disposition, that they manifestly wished that they could gain such an advantage as to exauctorate and deprive of their offices all such as should not submit with prompt obedience to their decision. But the states, not only as the common parents of all the citizens, and the vindicators of common and civil freedom, but also as the protectors and judges of liberty of conscience, commanded considerations upon the confession and catechism to be exhibited, not to ecclesiastical or provincial synods, but to themselves; and because they anticipated nothing from a synod but a ruinous overthrow of church and state, while the minds of the parties were so exasperated and inflamed by the heat of disputation, and breathing forth nothing but the condemnation of those dissenting in opinion, they judged it not advisable to call a synod, but to defer its convocation for awhile, until the minds of men being more united, the convention of the synod would be attended with better success, and the controversies which had sprung up in the church be considered cordially and amicably. The ecclesiastics thence grew more and more enraged; the churches violated the laws of the magistrates, and would not leave them the free exercise of that power which they had received directly from Christ: the magistrates, on the other hand, pleaded that the ecclesiastics wished to arrogate to themselves what belonged to the magistrate, and to prescribe for the magistracy: that the magistracy could act on its own authority after the judgment of the ecclesiastics had been given. When these things were agitated one way and the other, John Uitenbogaert being called into the assembly of the states, in a prolix oration, in which he defended himself and James Arminius, in the presence of the states, against the various criminations of others, after explaining more extendedly his own opinion concerning the manner of allaying the controversies which had arisen, said, among other things, that in his judgment these contentions sprang from the conflict of two collateral powers; therefore, in order that the contentions might be put to rest, the collateralness—of the essentially two powers, civil and ecclesiastical—ought to be abrogated.

This saying was far from pleasing the ecclesiastics. Gomarus, in a small publication, inveighs most bitterly against Uitenbogat as a courtly flatterer, and contends that this collateralness was nothing but a calumny cast upon the Reformed Churches; that it held a station in the pontifical church, and was a sign of antichrist. To this pamphlet of Gomarus, Uitenbogat, in the month of February, of the year 1610, opposed a learned and elaborate treatise "*de autoritate Christiani Magistratus in rebus ecclesiasticis*," in which he explains clearly and perspicuously the controversy which Gomarus had very intricately set forth; and shows that the pontiffs do not urge a collateralness of the two powers, but, if I may so speak, hold to a superiority; for surely the ecclesiastical power predominates over the civil, and the civil power is subjected to the ecclesiastical. But Gomarus and those who are of his opinion maintain, on their part, collateral powers, neither of which shall be in any manner dependent upon the other; and that each may decide its own interests with supreme authority, which, since it is not consistent with the peace of the state, is subversive of all good order, whence Uitenbogat infers, that also in ecclesiastical affairs the highest authority under our Lord Jesus Christ belongs to the Christian magistrate, and indeed especially in the following respects:—That it should be in his power to establish the exercise of true religion; to erect temples in which that exercise should be carried on, and to direct all things which are necessary to order in the temples, and to the due preservation and extension of worship; to appoint ministers to celebrate that worship, and to see that they are correctly instructed in religion, in order by this means to secure preachers worthy of the office: it was also to be in his power to exercise law concerning the time, place, and other circumstances of worship, and to direct all things which belong to the external government and *εὐταξίαν* of the church, and prevent the exercise of divine worship from being in any manner disturbed: that he might punish delinquent ministers according to the weight of the offense, and exauctorate those not performing, in a straight-forward manner, the duties of their office, or those guilty of committing more atrocious crimes: he might also substitute others more suitable and attentive to their duty in their place, and attend to those things similar to these, in which consists the external government of the church. This treatise was received with a ready mind among all who for many years had regarded with suspicion the oppression of ecclesiastical domination, and also among those who presaged, that by means of the consistories a new tyranny had been invented, not much different from the *Papal*, which charge the prince of Orange

had brought against Philip de Marnix. Adrian Saravia, who had been professor of theology in the University of Leyden, and was then residing in England, was not able to contain himself, but congratulated Uitenbogart upon the publication of his treatise in a long letter, which commences thus:—"Your tract concerning the authority of the highest power in ecclesiastic affairs has come to my hands: from this I have received as much joy as I did before of sorrow on account of the altercations at Leyden. I thank God, who has given this mind and spirit to you, that you should dare, by a public writing, to restrain your countrymen from so pernicious an error." Johannes Meursius, who has published so many works, and obtained an imperishable name among the learned, has given this judgment upon it:—"You arrange, examine, and sift all things so distinctly, methodically, and, I may add, ornately, which is your natural genius, that I should deny anything in that line could be done more perfectly. Everywhere may be seen a correct judgment, and extensive observation and knowledge of things. I confidently affirm, that posterity will hold you in esteem even for this one writing, which is worthy to be translated into many tongues." I need not now mention others. But the ecclesiastics arose contentiously against him, not otherwise than if he had declared war against the whole ecclesiastical order, and betrayed the rights of the church to the magistracy; but besides, certain ones did not fear to traduce him with reproaches and satires. And as many as wrote against him changed the ground of controversy, or set it forth obscurely and intricately; while nevertheless, as Episcopius well observes in an epistle to Corvinus, Uitenbogardus "placed the ground of controversy upon an eminence far otherwise than Gomarus is believed to have done, and without even the least reproach of any one, flowing forth in a rivulet of sweet words, gliding within the banks of humanity and prudence." The chief one among those who drew the sword against this tract of Uitenbogardus was Antonius Walæus, who, in the month of November of the year 1615, almost six years after the treatise of Uitenbogardus was published, opposed to that a greater work. This Uitenbogardus began immediately to answer, but was compelled for some time to relinquish the undertaking through reason of numerous engagements, by which he was almost overwhelmed in the tide of ecclesiastical contentions. After this, having been put out of his office, in the year 1618, he was sent into exile, from whence he returned secretly to his country, though not till after eight years, where, being concealed in the houses of his friends, and oppressed with various

labors for the Remonstrant Churches, he did not finish his former response. At length, about the end of his life, he opposed an article to Voetius, and inserted in that writing whatsoever he had already produced against Walæus. This at length came to light after his death. In this posthumous work Uitenbogardus complains that the ground of the controversy is evidently perverted by Walæus; for while the controversy only concerns the external government of the church, Walæus represents it far differently, "whether the institution and direction of religion without appeal, in the highest sense, may be demanded by the supreme magistrate; so that, just as in Popery, men are driven according to the faith of the church, we must be directed according to the will and commands of the magistrates, must be determined by us in such a way as to satisfy our consciences in the sight of God."

When from this writing of Walæus and others, opposed to Uitenbogardus, it appeared evident the ground of controversy was not sincerely set forth, and was much obscured, Episcopius, in a disputation published in the year 1618, concerning the right of the magistrate in sacred things, removed all those ambiguities and obscurities, having applied the distinction between public and private temples. For although Uitenbogardus, in his entire work, had spoken of none but public temples, and this appeared clearly from a perusal of the book; nevertheless, because his words were wrested to another sense, in order that those perversions might be obviated, it was necessary to apply a clear and open distinction between public and private temples. Thus indeed the Remonstrants conclude that the public temples come under the supervision of the magistrate; and moreover, he may determine what shall be taught in public churches. Not that he may have the authority of deciding articles of faith, and of enjoining the belief of those articles upon the ministers and members of the churches, but only of saying what shall be taught in the public temples: still the conscience of no one is bound to the articles, unless he is convinced of their truth from the word of God. But he who desires to be either a minister or member of the public church, ought to agree to that doctrine which is held forth by the authority of the magistrate in the same place; and in those temples all things which concern the *evtaξίαν* of the church are subject to the authority of the magistrate. If there are those who cannot acquiesce in the religion received in the public temples by the magistrate, the exercise of their own religion ought to be free to them in private temples and edifices, nor can the magistrate impede those placed under him from that private exercise of their religion, or compel them, unwilling, to the

profession of a religion which they believe false, and so bring violence to the consciences of those placed under him, and invade the rights of God.* This was and also now is the invariable and fixed opinion of the Remonstrants concerning the authority of the magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore whatsoever Voetius says (*Polit. Eccles.*, part i, lib. i, tract ii, cap. ii, p. 125 and seq.) under this head concerning the inconstancy of the Remonstrants is purely false, and indeed mere calumny, as appears clearer than the noon-day sun from all the books of the Remonstrants, and even from those very ones—what any one would wonder at—to which Voetius refers his reader. But the contra-Remonstrants arrogate judgment in matters of faith to the church, that is, to the ministers; but they give the sword to the magistrate, in order that he may draw it for the ministers against all dissenters; for, according to themselves, not the magistrates but the churches are the ones to judge concerning heresy; but the magistrates are to punish those adjudged as heretics by the church. Likewise they say all ecclesiastical government belongs to the church; and whatsoever the Remonstrants give to the magistrates, they arrogate to the ministers and consistories.†

* This is as liberal a view of the rights of conscience as is at all consistent with the admission of a national or a government church. If the state erect and endow churches, it is but reasonable that the civil power should exercise a general supervision over such churches and their affairs. And if in countries where there are such churches no man is compelled to attach himself to them, or is disfranchised of his rights as a citizen on account of dissent, which was what the Remonstrants contended for, the rights of conscience are not violated. The Remonstrants could not then see what we now see, that religion needs no help from government, but simple protection, and that national or government churches are, by the admixture of civil and ecclesiastical power, adulterated and degraded; and instead of being pure New-Testament churches, are merely politico-ecclesiastical institutions. This much, however, we must say for the Remonstrants, that of all the Christians of the age in which they lived, they entertained the most consistent views of the rights of conscience.—*Ed.*

† The Remonstrants, not without reason, called this *Romanism*. So far as the contra-Remonstrants separated the civil and ecclesiastical power, so far they were right. But when they made use of the civil power to inflict civil penalties upon those they judged heretics, they were essentially, in this particular, *Romanists*. Dr. Miller in vain attempts to extenuate the conduct of the reformed in using the civil power as an instrument of inflicting the punishment upon the Remonstrants adjudged by the Synod of Dort, on the ground of “the disingenuous, provoking, unworthy course by which they had divided and agitated the Belgic churches for a number of years.” This is neither generous nor just. For we maintain, first, that the schism in the Belgic churches was the legitimate result of the arbitrary and oppressive measures of the reformed; and, secondly, that civil pains and penalties should never be em-

But as it concerns private temples, with reference to them the Remonstrants thus think : that as the magistrate has no care of religions different from his own, but attends to the administration of them in their particular churches, or sometimes enforces them, it is the part of the church to choose for itself the ones to whom it may commit those things which concern its own *εὐταξίαν*. In this opinion the Remonstrants were always firm ; nor can it ever be found that they have vascillated. Those things which Voetius objects to them are evidently out of place ; nor do they regard the Remonstrant ministers, but the political magistrates. For the question then was, with whom resided the highest power of political government in the various provinces of the Belgic League ; concerning which the Apologeticus of Hugo Grotius may be referred to. But the Remonstrants always contended that the highest power in the external government of the church belonged to the magistrate, whoever he might be. But Voetius and his advocates were very unstable upon this point, and accommodated themselves to the time. I prefer to prove this by the words in the epistle of Adrian Saravia himself, to Uitenbogart, rather than by my own :—" Consider the dishonesty of the judgment of these men. Oppressed by the tyranny of the Roman pontiff, we appealed to the protection and authority of the civil magistrate, such as it was, and demanded to be heard in a cause purely ecclesiastical, and we then gave the whole power to the civil magistrate, whosoever he might be. The epistle to the king of Spain and the states of the Belgic provinces, which was formerly prefixed to the confession of faith of the churches, is a proof of this fact ; and consider with yourself of what religion they were, yet nevertheless how much we were giving them in matters of faith." And moreover, he objects to them, that " they confer upon their own aristocracy the authority in ecclesiastical affairs which the pope gave to his monarchy." These things can in no wise be reconciled with themselves, and they show the great instability of these men.

In the mean time the ecclesiastics did not cease to press the authority, which they had thus far exercised, to the end that they

played for the correction or punishment of ecclesiastical offenses. This is ground that the good doctor, as a Presbyterian, takes in all similar cases. And why should he make the poor Remonstrants exceptions ? Doubtless because they were *Arminians* ! It was gross wickedness for the prelatical party so to treat the covenanters of the Scotch Kirk and the dissenters of Great Britain, for they were pure Calvinists : but when he comes to speak of Arminians, the case is entirely changed !—*Ed.*

might expel from the churches all holding with Arminius upon predestination; and still further, that none should be admitted to ecclesiastical orders. In various classes, even against the mandates of the states, decrees to this effect were established. To wit, in Alcmaer that one by one they should witness, by the subscription of the hand, that "the Confession and Heidelberg Catechism agreed in all things with the word of God and with the ground-work of salvation, and that they would promise to preserve this doctrine, and to reject whatsoever was repugnant to the same, and to oppose themselves to it according to their ability." Four ministers, who showed themselves prepared to subscribe the confession, but refused this subscription to the catechism as a new step, and contrary to the decree of the states concerning the revision of those writings, were suspended from the functions of their office. Many contentions also arose from thence in the church of Alcmaer. The classis of Buren decreed the same subscription, "and that they never had, and never would be given to the innovations of Arminius and his followers; and if by chance any doubt should arise to those persons, they should conceal it, and disclose it to the classis alone; and if the classis was not able to remove it, they might be immediately suspended from the ministry until the controversies which had arisen should be decided." But Mary, countess of Buren, and Hohenlo, daughter of the late prince William, of Orange, annulled this decree as a despotic yoke upon the conscience. A similar decree was established by an assembly of ministers at Veere, in Zeeland. Therefore several ministers, following the opinion of Arminius, presented to the states of Holland a supplicating tract, under the title of a remonstrance, from which they were afterward called Remonstrants. In this they complained concerning the rough proceedings of the churches against those who hesitated to admit the opinion of absolute predestination, and comprehended, in five articles, the opinion which they believed true and consentaneous with the word of God, of which this is the substance:—

I. That God decreed, before the foundations of the world were laid, to save those believing in Christ and persevering in faith; but to condemn the unbelieving and disobedient.

II. That Jesus Christ tasted death and obtained remission of sins for every man; nevertheless, in such a manner that none but those believing can be made partakers by his death of this remission.

III. That man does not have salvable faith of himself, nor from the strength of his own will, but it is necessary for him to be rege-

nerated by God in Christ, through the instrumentality of the Holy Spirit.

IV. This grace of God is the beginning, progress, and completion of all good; but as regards the *modus operandi* of this grace, it is not irresistible.

V. The faithful, by the aid of this grace, are abundantly furnished with the strength of the Holy Spirit, by which they are able to persevere in the faith; but whether they can again fall away, should be examined more accurately from sacred Scripture before they would be able to teach this with full assurance of mind to others. Moreover, they besought the states to procure, that they should be heard in a legitimate synod, assembled under the authority of the states, in order that in this their controversial dogmas might be considered. If this could not be done, that they might tolerate each other, and finally be protected by the authority of the magistrates against all the censures of the ecclesiastics, which certain ones wished to bring upon them on account of this remonstrance. Finally, they declared that they offered this remonstrance, not to make a separation, or to foment strife, but only to defend themselves against the criminations of others, and to show that they were prepared either to impart instruction that would be beneficial to others, or to receive better instruction from them. If they were able to obtain neither, and could no longer perform their public ministrations with a good conscience, they showed themselves prepared, at the command of the states, to abdicate their public offices, and to satisfy, in any other manner, their churches and their own conscience. This remonstrance some endured most sadly, and traduced the Remonstrants, because, having repudiated a lawful tribunal, that is, ecclesiastical, they had fled to another in reality political. The states of Holland having read the remonstrance, decreed that the classes should be commanded to maintain peace; and until it was otherwise determined, no one, either now exercising the functions of his office, or hereafter to be admitted to the ministry, should be further questioned or troubled, as was stated in the remonstrance, either with regard to the article upon predestination, or its connected heads.

The classes of Leyden and Woerden resisted this decree of the states, who sent several deputies to them, in order to restrain the classes by their authority from undertaking any contrary measure. In the class at Woerden, Swanius, who thought the same as the Remonstrants, was examined; yet the classis was prevented from imposing upon him the subscription of the confession and catechism, by the authority of the deputies. Some persons in

the classis of Rotterdam opposed, with all their power, the appointment of Simon Episcopus, who they knew held the same opinion with Arminius, to the office of minister in the Bleiswick church; but when they found themselves inferior in numbers, five withdrew from the class, refused to be present at the examination of Episcopus, and soon after, having sent an epistle, interposed their protest.

In the mean time Conrad Vorstius was called by the curators of the University of Leyden to be the successor of Arminius. The ministers who thought contrary to Arminius upon predestination everywhere opposed this appointment, taking their pretext from his book *De Deo* and the divine attributes. They also implored the authority of the king of England, who endeavored to impede the appointment of Vorstius, both by means of his legate, and by letters given to the states. Very many everywhere arose on all sides against him; and articles were sent from England, culled from his book *De Deo*. He published various apologies, in which he explained his expressions, and also showed that some things had been misconstrued. But it was all to no purpose. After some debate, he delivered an apologetic oration at a sitting of the states-general of Holland. But the power of his adversaries availed so much, that he never obtained the actual functions of his office.

This dispute concerning the appointment of Vorstius continuing, the states of Holland summoned to the Hague six ministers of each party, for the purpose of instituting a conference, in presence of the states, concerning the controverted articles. The joint speakers from one party were Ruardus Acronius, Peter Plancius, Johannes Becius, Libertus Fraxinus, Johannes Bogardus, and Festus Hommius. From the other, John Uitenbogart, Adrian Borrius, Edward Poppius, Nicolaus Grevinkhovius, Johannes Arnoldus Corvinus, and Simon Episcopus. Before the conference commenced, the six chiefs who were of the first party presented to the states a contra-remonstrance, in opposition to the remonstrance, whence also they were called contra-Remonstrants. In this they declared their opinion in several articles, of which the following is the substance :—

I. "That from the human family, corrupted in Adam, God has liberated a certain number of men, whom, in his own eternal and immutable counsel, he chose, out of pure compassion, according to the good pleasure of his will, in order that he might save them through Jesus Christ,—the rest being passed by in his own just counsel, and left in their sins."

II. "The sons of the church are to be considered also the elect of God, as long as they do not really show the contrary of this."

III. "God, in this his election, has had no respect to the faith or conversion of his elect, as the causes of their election, but has determined to give faith and perseverance in piety to those whom he has chosen, from the good pleasure of his will, and to save them in this manner."

IV. "God delivered up his Son Jesus Christ to death, for the purpose of saving his elect; so much so, that though the death of Christ was a sufficient satisfaction for the sins of all men, yet nevertheless it possesses its power for reconciliation in the elect alone."

V. "God so efficaciously operates, both externally by the preaching of his gospel, and also internally upon the hearts of his elect, that they are not only able to convert themselves and believe, but also are converted and truly believe of their own accord."

VI. "Though the truly faithful and regenerate may fall, through weakness of the flesh, into grievous sins, nevertheless, by the same virtue of the Holy Spirit, with which they were regenerated, they are so preserved and sustained, that they cannot lose the faith either totally or finally."

In this same contra-remonstrance they deny that the Remonstrants can be tolerated in their opinion, as ministers of the Reformed Church, and contend that they ought to be subjected to ecclesiastical censure.

Presently the conference commenced, and all the five articles of the Remonstrants were sifted abundantly, equally in speech as in writing; also the documents of each party were afterward brought to light, under the title of the Conference of Hague, of which frequent mention is made in the writings of our adversaries, and finally in the Synod of Dort itself. The conference being ended, the states resolved to determine nothing upon one side or the other; to admonish the ministers of either party to exercise mutual tolerance; to influence each other amicably; to direct all things peaceably, and speak moderately and soberly concerning the controverted articles, in such a way as would most conduce to the peace and edification of the church. The contra-Remonstrants pressed the questions which it should decide. The Remonstrants urged mutual tolerance. The states-general decreed, as they never approved, that the opinion of the Remonstrants should be prescribed to any one; so on the other hand no one should be vexed on account of his sentiments, and mutual toleration should be exercised. The states of Utrecht formed ecclesiastical laws, and established in

them mutual toleration. These laws were drawn up by John Uitenbogart, at the command of the states. Not long after the conference was held at the Hague, Gomarus resigned his professorship to the curators of the college, and John Polyander was called to occupy his place. A testimonial was given to Gomarus the same as to Arminius, deceased, except that where it reads in the testimonial of the latter, "for we do not judge concerning controversies," the same thing is expressed in that of the former, with the words slightly changed, "controversies indeed we leave to others." In the following year, 1612, since Vorstius was not admitted to the exercise of his professorship, Simon Episcopus was given as a colleague to Polyander.

(To be concluded in the next number.)

ART. VI.—*Observations in Europe, principally in France and Great Britain.* By JOHN P. DURBIN, D. D., President of Dickinson College. 2 vols., 12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

ANOTHER book of travels! Yes—and right glad are we to see it, if it only be a good one. No reading, except biography, is more useful or attractive. "Travel," says Lord Bacon, "is, in the younger sort, a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience." And what travel is for those who can go abroad, reading books of travel is for those who must stay at home. The education of the young, as well as the experience of the old, must be incomplete without large store of this kind of reading.

But what constitutes a *good* book of travels? The answer must depend a good deal upon the country of which the book treats. Perhaps some stray Englishman has wandered away from the Chinese expedition, through the heart of the Celestial Empire—has lingered on the banks of the Hoang-Ho, or traced the Yang-tse-Kiang to its source—has penetrated even through Shensee and Khan-suh, and made friends of the Calmucks beyond the great wall. Should any such lucky wight be permitted to return, and give us, within a reasonable time, an account of the ways of the odd people that live in those unknown regions—let us know the full truth about the chopsticks, small tea-cups, and smaller feet, grave mandarins, fantastic dresses, and solemn absurdities, about which we have laughed so much on bare report—we should take

his book without question for a good one, and care little about his philosophy or his style of writing. So, again, if some adventurous Yankee should penetrate those dreary wastes of central Africa over which the cloud of darkness has hung for centuries, and throw some little light for us upon the black people that dwell under the shade of the Mountains of the Moon, his would be a good book of travels, though the writer might be anything but a Solomon. In such a case we should take what we could get and be thankful. It would ill become us to look the gift-horse in the mouth.

This was the state of the case, a few years ago, with reference to Palestine and the East generally. A man that wrote about the Holy Land, no matter how lamely and inaccurately, was sure to find readers. But all that is changed now. Since Stephens delighted us with that most attractive of his books, the "Incidents of Travel in Arabia Petrea," &c. ; since Robinson has given us his ponderous octavos, affording the minutest details of information in regard to the sacred ground ; since Olin has published his admirable narrative, containing the best account of Egypt and the most useful view of Palestine for general readers that is known in the language, we have become more fastidious in these matters. The next book on the East must present some new views, or it will be apt to lie on the bookseller's shelves. We know, or think we know, (which is much the same thing,) all that need be said about Pompey's Pillar and Mohammed Ali, about the slave-market at Alexandria and the water-pots of Cairo, about the Bedouins, Alouins, and Old Tuweileb, about the palm-trees at Akabah and the convent of St. Katharine's, about St. Stephen's Gate and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The next writer upon the East must give us new facts, or at least new theories, must settle, or attempt to settle, some of the vexed questions that former travelers have left undecided, or we shall not welcome him, as we have his predecessors.

But a book of travels in old and civilized countries, the geography, topography, and statistics of which are known to all the world, must possess merits of an altogether different stamp from those which satisfy us in the writer who tells of "lands unknown before." It must give us something more than details of distances, post-houses, public buildings, and fine shows ; for these the guide-books are better than any passing traveler can be. It must tell us something else than the population, the trade, and the manufactures of countries and cities ; the Geography, the Encyclopedia, and the newspaper can furnish us with all these. It must give us, what other books cannot, the fleeting manners of the

time, the social and moral characteristics of the people; must show us the working of their political institutions, or, at least, the effect of those institutions upon the manners, the habits, and the general well-being of the people. If it does not attempt that most difficult of problems, an analysis of national character, it should gather some of the elements necessary for its solution. It should represent to us the forms of the national religion, and tell us what hold they have upon the affections of the people; and further, what real faith they have, and how it develops itself in their lives. Or, if it attempt few or none of these great ends, and pretend merely to give the impressions made upon a passing traveler by the novel scenes and events that crowd upon his notice in a strange land, we can still listen to the narrator with pleasure if he tell his story well; we can take delight in his pages if he is master enough of the trick of painting with words to make us see what he saw—or rather, if he has imagination enough to body forth for us these “shapes of things unknown,” and give them truly “a local habitation and a name.”

How far the work before us comes up to these requirements will be seen, to some extent, as we proceed. It certainly does not come under the last-mentioned category, of books abounding in pleasant pictures and poetic fancies only, but mingles a clear and generally graphic narration of personal incidents, with well-considered and frequently elaborate discussions of political, social, and religious questions. The writer's style is unequal, and the book, in many places, gives evident signs of hasty preparation: but, on the whole, it is well-written and exceedingly readable. This last, after all, is the great test of books of this class. Whatever merits they may possess in other respects, dullness inevitably damns them.

Dr. Durbin left America on the 27th of April, 1842, and reached Havre on the 19th of May. After spending some time in Paris, he passed through France and Switzerland, down the Rhine into Holland and Belgium, and thence to England, where he remained several months. It is an account of observations made in this tour that is given in the volumes before us.

Our author gives a rapid but pleasant sketch of the passage on the Seine from Havre to Rouen, in his first chapter. Most travelers cross from Dover to Calais, and proceed directly to Paris, thus losing the sight of the most interesting part of France out of the capital. Rouen alone would reward the tourist for all the time lost by taking the Seine route. Dr. Durbin's account of that

city, and especially of its magnificent cathedral, is clear and graphic. The following description of the interior of the cathedral, and of the Catholic worship, is a favorable specimen of his style:—

“Let us enter the gloomy Gothic pile. Our sensations are indescribable. It is not admiration—it is not the religious sentiment, but a strange astonishment, not unmingled with awe, yet certainly not akin to reverence. The long ranges of lofty pillars; the countless sharp Gothic arches; the numerous chapels on either side, adorned with pictures and statuary, frequently with candles burning before the image of the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, all seen in a flood of light poured into the church through more than a hundred windows, whose glass is stained with every shade of color, from fiery red to the soft tints fading into white, until nave, and choir, and aisles seem magically illuminated; the silence that reigns in the vast space, broken only by the occasional footfall of a priest in his long black robe, flitting along the nave, or entering one of the numerous confessionals, followed by a penitent; with here and there the form of an aged and decrepit female kneeling in superstitious reverence before some favorite image; all taken together, overpower the eye and the mind of the Protestant traveler, unaccustomed to such scenes, with strange impressions and oppressive feelings, and he retires from his first visit confused and astonished. Such, at least, were my own emotions.

“I visited the cathedral several times—twice on occasions of worship. No provision is made for the accommodation of worshipers, as with us, by fixed seats or pews; the floor, with the exception of the choir, being an unbroken pavement of broad flag-stones, neither smooth nor well joined. In different parts of the building are large stacks of rude chairs, such as we see in our western cabins, which on Sundays and holydays are ranged in rows or groups for such as choose to occupy them. A woman comes round at some time during the service, and receives your *sous* for the use of the chair. A plate is shortly after carried round, for general contributions, by an official in surplice and black gown, accompanied by an officer in uniform, with sword and cocked hat, and carrying a long silver-headed staff.

“We had the fortune to have the church to ourselves on Saturday, when the priests were performing service, assisted by a company of little boys, and accompanied by the organ. The service was performed in the nave of the church, which is inclosed by a strong, high iron railing. The fine voices of the priests and boys, with the loud peals of the organ, reverberated from the thousand arches of the splendid temple with grand effect. On Sunday we attended high mass, when the service was more imposing in itself, and was heightened in effect by the presence of a multitude of worshipers. Thousands were standing and sitting in the church, until, at the tinkling of a little bell, the vast multitude bowed down simultaneously, with a subdued and heavy sound, some humbly upon their knees, on the cold stone pavement, while others leaned their rude wooden chairs forward, and, standing at the backs, knelt upon the lower rounds, resting their heads

upon the tops. The greater number arose, and stood or sat during the progress of the service ; but here and there one, more earnest than the rest, continued kneeling. A very decent woman near us remained so long upon her knees, and seemed so much excited, as to draw from one of our company the remark, that she looked much like a mourner at the altar of a Methodist church."—Vol. i, pp. 27, 28.

Dr. Durbin's account of Paris gives, in a very short space, a good view of the principal objects of interest in that most attractive of European capitals. The fifth chapter, narrating the events of a walk from the Louvre to the Arch of Triumph, and describing the magnificent series of palaces, squares, and gardens that adorn that aristocratic quarter of Paris, is especially distinct and graphic. But the most novel feature of this part of the book is the account of the Catacombs, those vast subterranean receptacles of the dead that lie under the southern side of the city. For a number of years past it has been difficult to obtain permission to enter them ; but by the politeness of General Cass, then our minister to France, Dr. Durbin obtained a passport for himself and party to make the *voyage souterrain*, as the French phrase it. We extract part of his account :—

" A little building is erected outside the Barrière d'Enfer, in which is the opening of the principal shaft. We descended by ninety steps, and found ourselves alone in the caverns. Following our guide about twenty minutes, we came to a strong door, each side of which was ornamented with pillars of Tuscan architecture. Over the door is the inscription, *Has ultra metas requiescunt beatam spem spectantes*. Our guide opened the heavy door, and, as it grated on its hinges, I felt an involuntary shudder, which was not quieted when we passed the threshold and found ourselves surrounded by walls of human bones, which the glare of our tapers showed to be regularly piled up from the floors to the roof of the quarries. The bones of the legs and arms are laid closely in order, with their ends outward, and at regular intervals skulls are interspersed in three horizontal ranges, disposed so as to present alternate rows of the back and front parts of the head ; and sometimes a single perpendicular range is seen, still further varying the general outline. Passing along what seemed to be interminable ranges of these piles of human remains, we came to several apartments arranged like chapels, with varied dispositions of the piles of legs, arms, and grinning skulls. Here, too, were vases and altars ; some formed of bones entirely, and others surrounded with them. On many of these were inscriptions, generally of a religious bearing. How new, how strange were the associations of the place ! Over our heads was rolling the vast tide of life in the gay and wicked city ; its millions of inhabitants were jostling each other on the high roads of business and pleasure ; while here were the remains of four times their

number lying in silent, motionless piles, in the depths below! And we, the living of to-day, were standing among the dead of a thousand years, in the quiet bosom of our mother earth. Religion, too, had thrown her rays of light into this empire of death; and we read, in an inscription before us, the sure word declaring that even this universal empire shall be broken: '*They that dwell in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*' On a stone pillar near by is the admonition so generally unheeded, but here irresistible, enforced as it is by the mute, but eloquent evidences around: '*Remember that thou art dust.*' The inscriptions, '*Tombeau de la Revolution,*' '*Tombeau des Victimes,*' over two chapels, built up with bones, tell of the days of strife and blood between 1789 and 1793; and here are the remains of those who perished in their frightful massacres. Altogether, the effect of the place, and its associations, was oppressive in the extreme."—Vol. i, pp. 96, 97.

After an instructive chapter on the moral state of the metropolis, Dr. Durbin presents, in a somewhat elaborate article, a view of the condition and prospects of religion in France. His opinions seem to have been carefully formed, and are cautiously, but not ambiguously, expressed; and, although we cannot coincide with him in all respects, his views are, in the main, well-founded. The prominent fact stated is one which certainly ought to be matter of rejoicing to every good man, namely, that religious feeling is reviving in France to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. The increased attendance on public worship both in Catholic and Protestant churches, the number of new Catholic churches erected, and the great zeal of evangelical Protestants, are adduced to prove the fact of this revival. According to our author, the tendency of this new state of feeling, as well as of the policy of the French government, is to strengthen the Catholic Church; and this, too, under the administration of M. Guizot, the *Protestant* leader of the government party, the great principle of whose policy seems to be, that "Protestantism shall not advance by encroachments on Catholicism." At the close of the chapter he remarks,—

"From what has been said, the reader may infer my opinion that the day is far distant when the Roman Catholic religion, by name and in form, will be uprooted from the soil of France. Its dangers, at all events, are from within more than from without. It is now committing one error, which may lead to others, and cripple its energies more than any other cause, namely, allying itself, as closely as possible under the laws of France, with the Papal power. The people of France will never submit to this connection in its full character, as it was in the

palmy days of the Papacy.* But the Papacy itself is too wise to carry this point too far. Should the Catholic clergy of France commit no great error; should they continue to improve in moral character and in attention to the spiritual wants of the people as they have done; above all, should they so conduct their movements as to avoid making any *political* question between themselves and the government or people of France, they have a fair field before them, and, to all human appearance, they will remain masters of it."—Vol. i, pp. 136, 137.

Dr. Durbin alludes, in a note, to the recent attack made by the clergy upon the universities. Our readers have already seen, from the newspapers, that the war has been continued, with great violence, during the past year, and that the clergy, under the direction of the Jesuits, have already made this a "political question between themselves and the government of France." The government will not yield; and we have no reason to suppose that the priests will give way. They are cutting their own throats.

We commend to the earnest consideration of our readers Dr. Durbin's suggestions in regard to the duty of American Methodists toward France:—

"Even if the way were entirely clear for our British brethren, and they could work in France to the best possible advantage, there is more to be done than they *can* do. Is it not the duty of American Methodists to aid them? Ought we not to seize the opportunity, now so favorable, of making a strong impression upon the mind of France, ready, in its present formless condition, to take almost any impression? To rekindle the flame of the Reformation in France and to regenerate the Catholic Church—are not these worthy and glorious objects? But this is not all. France is the centre of European civilization, her language is universally diffused in Europe, and her movements in morals and politics are felt throughout the continent. Any impression made upon France would be made upon Europe.

"May I not, therefore, renew the earnest suggestion of Dr. Fisk, that an American Methodist mission should be established in France? Let it be commenced in Paris, with the erection or purchase of a suitable building for a church. Let the mission be intrusted to an able and judicious superintendent, to preach in the church in Paris to the residents and strangers of American or English origin. Let him have an assistant, who shall preach in French, and superintend also a school for the religious instruction of such children as could be collected. It would be essential also to establish a school for the train-

* "Since 1830 the Jesuits have been gradually creeping into France, and employing their old devices to gain influence and power. The Roman Catholic clergy can follow no more suicidal policy than to foster them: their very name is enough to rouse the people of France into rebellion against Church, king, and government."

ing of young men on the spot for the native ministry. Such young men are now to be found in France, in Switzerland, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, where Methodism has long been established. Their education in science and literature could be obtained, without cost, at the universities and public institutions of the capital, while they could be instructed in theology by the missionary and his assistant, of whose families they might form a part. These might be the beginnings. The *end*, who could tell? I may be too sanguine, but I cannot help believing that the results of such an enterprise would transcend anything that we have yet accomplished in the way of missionary effort. Let us emulate the British Methodists, who have been so long in the field, and our brethren of the Foreign Evangelical Society, who, though they have but lately entered it, have reaped an abundant harvest of reward for their zealous labors, and are looking forward, full of heart and hope, for greater things to come."—Vol. i, pp, 139, 140.

Perhaps no part of these volumes will attract more attention than the chapter on the government of Louis Philippe. It presents views that will be new to many persons in this country; but they are none the worse for that. It is time that the truth were more generally known. The systematic opposition of the king of the French to the spread of liberal principles, his incessant warfare against the liberty of the press, his abandonment of his early republican friends, and his close alliance, as far as his own efforts could secure such a connection, with the aristocratic and absolute governments of Europe, have taken away from him and his party all right to the sympathy of American republicans. Had he, like a true man, remained faithful to the great trust reposed in him in 1830, the political aspect of Europe would be very different from what it is at this day. Dr. Durbin gives a clear historical sketch of the revolution, exhibits the grounds on which the liberal party gave in their adhesion to the duke of Orleans, and, finally, shows what obligations he incurred on accepting the crown, and how completely he has forgotten them. The means by which he has maintained himself upon the throne—his skillful management of foreign politics, and his prudent concessions, on minor points, to popular feeling at home—are well set forth. The account given of the fortifications of Paris, which have caused so much sensation in France, will be new and full of interest to most American readers. An admirable plan of the fortifications, in lithograph, is given, by which the author's description is clearly illustrated. On the whole, Dr. Durbin displays an accurate acquaintance with the modern history and politics of France, and deserves our thanks for the clear views which his volumes present on the subject.

Our author's narrative of his tour through France and Switzer-

land is easy and agreeable. His movements were too rapid to allow of any close examination of society and manners, but he evidently kept his eyes open, and saw more than most men could have seen in the same time. Indeed, the whole book evinces unusual quickness of observation. One of the most pleasing passages in the account of Switzerland is that narrating the visit of our traveler to the Hospice of the Great St. Bernard. What we admire particularly in this and many other parts of the book is the kindly feeling with which the Roman Catholics are spoken of, and the generous frankness with which all evidences of good among them are mentioned. Truly does our author say,—“A man must be blinded indeed by prejudice or bigotry, that cannot see the monuments of Catholic virtue and the evidences of Catholic piety in every country in Europe; and worse than blind must he be that will not acknowledge and honor them when he does see them.” Dr. Durbin seems to have carried with him in all his journeyings the spirit of the beautiful passage which he quotes from Wordsworth:—

“Where'er we roam—along the brink
Of Rhine, or by the sweeping Po,
Through Alpine vale or champaign wide—
Whate'er we look on, at our side
Be charity! to bid us think
And feel, if we would know.”

And so it should be. We have long lamented the anti-Catholic *furor* of many sound and excellent men among us:—not that we do not unite fully with them in their opposition to Romanism, but that we are sure, as good old Archbishop Leighton said, “the cause of truth is not to be served by passion, but rather is dis-served thereby.” Persecution, whether by sword, pen, or tongue, is a weapon that inevitably cuts the hand that wields it. Let us acknowledge freely all the good there is in Romanism, or rather in Romanists; let us love them, as Christ loved those who strove against him; and we shall succeed far better, warring thus with truly Christian feelings, than we ever can by imitating the Romanists themselves in the use of anathemas, denunciations, and slanders.

Our author gives a very pleasant narration of his steam-voyage down the Rhine, and of his stay in the land of “dikes and Dutchmen.” We are puzzled by one remark in his account of Holland:—

“I believe commentators have assigned the Garden of Eden to almost every country in the world, but were I called upon to locate it,

I would place it among the cool groves between Utrecht and Amsterdam, and rely upon the good taste of the traveler who may pass amid these refreshing shades on a beautiful afternoon in July to confirm the wisdom of my choice."—Vol. i, p. 264.

Now this idea of a Dutch Eden may do very well for a joke—and perhaps our author intends it as such. We should hardly think Milton obtained, by a visit to the fields of Guelderland, banked up by mud dikes, and intersected by sluggish canals bordered by sleepy oziers, his conception of the "pleasant soil" in which

"His far more pleasant garden God ordained."

Surely the lazy aqueduct that watered the Dutch pleasure ground of which our author was so enamored must have been a very different affair from the "sapphire fount" from whose unfailing sources

"the crisped brooks
Rolling on orient pearls and sands of gold
With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers, worthy of paradise, which not nice art
In beds and curious knots, but nature boon
Poured forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain."

The Garden of Eden between Utrecht and Amsterdam, indeed!

Our author devotes a chapter to the field of Waterloo—giving a brief account of the battle, and presenting, at some length, an investigation of the "principles and series of events which led to the conflict, and the disastrous results which have followed it." The account of the battle is distinct. It differs, in some important particulars, from the statements generally given by English writers, and could not but differ from them if it told the truth. We have no doubt whatever that if the Prussians had not come upon the field as they did, the victory would have remained with the French emperor. The accounts of the Prussians themselves, apart from all French statements, are abundantly sufficient to confirm this opinion, in spite of all the extravagant assertions that are made by the English on the other side.

"On the return of the Bourbons to France in 1814, a gentleman called on Robert Hall, in the expectation that he would express himself in terms of the utmost delight on account of that signal event. Mr. Hall said,—'I am sorry for it. The cause of religion, science, freedom, and pure religion on the continent will be thrown back half a century; the intrigues of the Jesuits will be revived, and Popery will be resumed in France, with all its mum-

mery, but with no power, except the power of persecution.' And again, speaking of the battle of Waterloo, the same distinguished man remarked, 'That battle, and its results, seemed to me to put back the clock of the world six degrees.'" The following passage from our author will show that he coincides in opinion with the great Baptist:—

"This, then, was the battle fought at Waterloo. The *people* on both sides thought themselves fighting for liberty: the French, to retain it under the ruler of their own choice; the aggregated masses of the allies, to dethrone the man whom they considered the only barrier to constitutional freedom in Europe. But how unfortunate the position held by England on that day! The *freemen* of England fought to maintain the despotisms of the continent—to deprive a brave people of the free choice of their rulers—to restore the representative of a worn-out dynasty to a throne for which he was unfit, and from which he had fled before the man of the people! The *Protestants* of England fought to recover the powers of the pope, to bring back the sway of the Jesuits, and to prolong the existence of a corrupt church! But if the masses were deceived, the leaders were not. The allied sovereigns and the aristocracy of England knew for what *they* were fighting. They hoped that the war of principles would end with the second overthrow of Napoleon. They conquered."

"The Bourbon was again placed upon the throne, in spite of the wishes of the French people. The allies knew this, and provided for the safety of the dynasty in whose behalf they had deluged Europe with blood for twenty-five years, by a military occupation of France for five years more. The emperor was imprisoned on the island of St. Helena, where the barbarous treatment of which he was subsequently the victim shortened his days. The treaty of Vienna of June 9th, 1815, was confirmed, and became the nominal public law of Europe. Such were the immediate results of the battle of Waterloo. Its ultimate effects, supposing it to have been the turning point in the great question, have been seen in the degradation of France from 1815 to 1830, in the public distress and embarrassments of England, in the steady advance of Russia on the way to a despotism far more stringent and dangerous than Napoleon's, in the persevering efforts of the German powers to uproot the principles of liberalism from the minds of their people, in the renewal of the intrigues and machinations of the Jesuits, and in the increased power of Popery throughout Europe. It would carry me too far to indicate the course of all these results. I shall add only a word or two in reference to those which have accrued, especially to Great Britain and Germany."

"Finally, if any Protestant asks for the result, in a religious point of view, of the success of the allied arms against Napoleon in 1814-15, let him compare the power of Popery in 1814 with the power of Popery in 1842, and his question is answered."—Vol. i, pp. 296-298, 302.

We trust this chapter will lead many persons to juster views of the nature of the combat between Napoleon and the allies

than can be gained from such books as Alison's History of Europe.

Dr. Durbin's second volume is taken up with a record of observations in England and Ireland. He appears to have judged kindly, yet closely, of all that he saw in Great Britain; and he speaks freely, though with sufficient modesty. The most important part of the volume, for the readers of this journal at least, is the account of English Methodism, by far the clearest and best that we have yet had on this side of the water. It is divided into two chapters, the first of which contains a statement of what Dr. Durbin calls the *facts* of English Methodism. The organization of the British Conference, its mode of doing business, and the peculiar mode of stationing the preachers in use among our transatlantic brethren, are clearly set forth. Our traveler has indulged in some comments upon the English mode of preaching, and drawn some comparisons between English and American Methodism, which are calculated to be useful: but there is one passage which we are inclined to think will be misinterpreted, on both sides of the water:—

“My general impression of the Wesleyan preachers was very favorable. They clearly comprehend their great work, which involves the spiritual interests of a multitude of people; to the tasks which it imposes they devote their energies, and aspire to nothing more. In looking over the body of preachers assembled in conference, I could see the stamp of genius, according to the great world's idea of it, upon hardly a single face or form; but everywhere the expression of good sense and of regular habits of subordination to authority. They are generally men of fine physical health. Trained for action rather than speculation, they are better adapted to promote the ascertained interests of religion and common life than to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, and to advance society to its highest forms of liberty and cultivation. Though not distinguished, as a body, for great abilities or acquirements, they are richly endowed with the wisdom of experience, with a ready perception of the best means to attain valuable ends, with great benevolence of heart, with perfect willingness to work, and that steadfastly, and with an unshaken confidence in their cause. They have not the enthusiasm of young apostles, commencing the conversion of the world; but they exhibit the regular activity of men laboring according to the surest rules, with undoubting anticipations of success. To such a body of men are the interests of English Methodism intrusted. Thus far they have nobly fulfilled their high vocation.”—Vol. ii, pp. 53, 54.

Perhaps we may account for the remark in the second sentence of this paragraph by supposing that Dr. Durbin sat upon the platform, and looked down upon “the body of preachers” in the seats below, thus excluding from his range of vision most

of the great leaders of the connection, the Buntings, the Newtons, the Hannahs, the Dixons, &c.; and perhaps, too, at so great a distance he could not distinguish the "stamp of genius" upon many a face that bore it. But, after all, this "stamp of genius" is rather a doubtful matter;—certainly our author does not stint his praise of the Wesleyan ministers in other and far higher respects. The whole tone of his book is that of good feeling toward them; and we are sure that he cherishes none but the kindest and best sentiments, both in regard to individual ministers in England and to the connection generally.

We recommend Dr. Durbin's statement of the financial system of the Wesleyans to the close attention of our preachers and people. We certainly ought to learn a lesson in these matters from our English brethren. Their missionary system seems to be almost perfect; and they have recently taken hold of the work of education with great energy. It is greatly to be desired that the present session of our General Conference will not pass without the adoption of some efficient measures to secure the same results, or as nearly the same as our different circumstances will allow, among us.

President Durbin's second chapter on Methodism investigates the present relation of the Wesleyan body to the Church of England. After showing how the society grew up into an organized form, almost spontaneously, certainly without any previous design on the part of its founder to bring about such a result, our author states the circumstances which led the Wesleyan preachers to assume their proper right, as ministers of Christ, to administer the sacraments.

"At Mr. Wesley's death, the Methodist ministers were in the regular exercise of all the functions of a perfect Christian ministry except the administration of the sacraments. It was soon found that they could not avoid taking this last step. Their people longed to partake of the 'communion of the body and blood of Christ,' administered by their own faithful pastors; and, though constantly urged to do so, could rarely be induced to commune constantly in the parish churches, especially where the clergy were men of ungodly lives. The imperative necessity of the measure pressed upon the minds of the preachers; they did not doubt their authority to take it; and at last their filial reverence for Mr. Wesley's advice yielded to their sense of duty, and to their assurance that he would have approved their conduct had he been alive to judge of it. The conference accordingly authorized those ministers who had been, or should be, regularly called and set apart to the work of the ministry, by peculiar religious exercises in the congregation, even without the imposition of hands, to administer the sacraments. This completed their organization as a *church*. It was

not deemed expedient, however, to change their name from that of 'the People called Methodists,' as declared in the Deed, to that of the 'Wesleyan Methodist Church,' which is the designation which occasionally appears in the public prints, and will finally prevail."—Vol. ii, pp. 83, 84.

Although thus organized, the Wesleyan connection has never formally assumed the name of a church. Her ministers have always, until within a few years past, supported the Establishment. The Wesleyans, as a body, have stood aloof from Dissenters. But recent events have produced, as our author remarks, if not "a real change of *position*, certainly a great alteration of the general tone of feeling in the Methodist Church, and in the language of her people, her journals, and her official sermons, with regard to that position." The Wesleyans have fought *against* the Church and the government on the Factory Education question, and fought successfully. Their Pastoral Address of 1842 speaks of "our common Methodist Church." Dr. Dixon asserts that the position of the Wesleyans is taken "firmly and unalterably, as a branch of the one true church of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." The president of the conference, in the official sermon of 1843, declares that the "Wesleyan body are a true and proper church, wanting only the name; and why they should not have this is not to me sufficiently apparent." The Pastoral Address of 1843 asserts that the "title of the Church of England to be styled the bulwark of Protestantism has of late been grievously shaken." Pamphlets are constantly issued, showing the spread of high-Church principles in the Establishment, and the necessity of vigorous resistance among Wesleyans. Surely all these demonstrations are not without meaning. Dr. Durbin argues from them, and, we think, rightly, that Methodism is now tending strongly toward the ground, on which, as we believe, she ought long since to have planted herself, of a separate church organization, in name, as well as in fact. There is abundant reason for the opinion that the spirit of dissent is spreading rapidly among the Wesleyans, both ministers and people; and we cannot but rejoice in the belief that it is so. We ardently hope that our brethren on the other side of the water will not be induced, by any antipathy to dissent, or any fear of republicanism, to uphold much longer the tottering fabric of the Established Church of England; and that the day is not far distant when the Establishment will find the whole noble army of English Methodists in array against her.

A gloomy view of the condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain is presented in our author's thirteenth chapter. Drawn

entirely from authentic sources, it presents details of the poverty, the wretchedness, and the moral degradation of the miserable working people of England, which are heart-sickening. The whole system of society in that country is false. The selfish oligarchy that holds the sovereign power seems determined to care for nothing but itself. Of all forms of government, indeed, an oligarchy is the worst, so far as the well-being of the mass of the people is concerned. It cannot be that the English millions are to endure all the evils of such a government for ever.

During his tour in Ireland Dr. Durbin made the acquaintance of father Mathew, the great apostle of temperance in that country. He appears to have been charmed by the attractive manners of the good priest, as are all who come within the reach of their influence. After giving a statement of the results already accomplished by the temperance reform in Ireland, our author asks,—

“But will the effects remain when the novelty is over? Will men adhere to their temperance pledge when father Mathew's voice can no longer animate them; when the bustle of mass meetings, the din of temperance trumpets, the pomp of processions, the novelty of medals shall all have subsided? This is, indeed, a grave and difficult question, and I can only answer it hypothetically. Should there be no improvement in the political and economical condition of Ireland; should she continue oppressed and degraded as she has been under British misrule; should the high hopes of national, or, at least, provincial independence, which now swell the hearts of the people, be doomed to disappointment, then, indeed, will it be impossible for any social reform to live in Irish soil. If the people *must* be miserable, it will be impossible to keep them from the vice that was at once the cause and the solace of many of their ills. But if, on the other hand, there shall be a political regeneration of the Irish people, I believe it will be found that the majestic self-control which they have manifested in bursting at once the chains of an indulgence which seemed incorporated with the national character, is but a feeble indication of the moral elevation to which they may be raised. Hitherto they have been an anomaly among men. Brave to a fault, they have bowed their necks to an oppressive yoke for ages; generous beyond example, they have been their own worst enemies; kind and affectionate to a proverb, they have cherished enmities and feuds among themselves that have caused continual strife and bloodshed; energetic and enterprising, they have sunk to the very depths of poverty and degradation. But many of these inconsistencies may find their solution in the bondage which they have endured—not patiently, but with a constant remembrance of past wrongs, and a constant yearning for the day of vengeance. Men cannot develop a moral character in slavery; and, least of all, in a slavery like that of the Irish, which gives them the semblance of freedom, and allows them to cherish the hope of its reality.

“On the other hand, if the moral regeneration of the Irish depends

upon their physical and political condition, it is also true that the latter may be much accelerated by the beginning that has been made in the former. The prevalence of temperate habits, even for one generation, will make the mass of the Irish nation a different race. Hitherto they have been degraded even beneath British contempt: to *fear* the efforts of such a people never entered the mind of a British legislator. It has been safe to deny the rights of a wild, quarrelsome, and brutal people. But should these people cast out the devils that have possessed them, and stand up before the world, if not 'clothed,' yet 'in their right minds;' should these men of strife learn, by subduing one propensity, the master-secret of controlling their own passions, England, which has so long refused justice to Ireland degraded, will not dare to refuse it to Ireland regenerated."—Vol. ii, pp. 242–244.

Dr. Durbin takes a liberal view of the Irish question. Many may be disposed to think that he would grant too much to the Roman Catholics. But he would grant them nothing but *justice*; and justice they ought to have. Protestant persecution of Catholics is just as offensive as Catholic persecution of Protestants.

"Whatever may be thought of the Roman Catholic religion in itself, it seems to me that no honest Protestant can vindicate the oppressive ecclesiastical system by which England binds a Roman Catholic people to the support of Protestantism. The Episcopalians of Ireland form, perhaps, *one-tenth* of the population; and yet to them are given the fruits of the Catholic Church endowments of former ages; to them belong the cathedrals, the churches, the Episcopal palaces, the parsonages, and the glebes; it is for them that the tithe, that most iniquitous of existing ecclesiastical abominations, is levied; while the religion of the vast majority of the people obtains nothing, or next to nothing, in the way of support from the state. It is impossible that permanent tranquillity should be realized in Ireland while this enormous outrage upon the feelings, the interests, and the rights of the Roman Catholic majority remains. It is not in human nature to endure such oppression, hypocritically sanctified though it be under the guise of religion and Protestantism; and it *ought* not to be endured. Were I an Irishman, as I am an American and a Protestant, I should cease my efforts for the overthrow of the ecclesiastical system only with my life. Bad as is the effect of the Establishment in England, it is infinitely worse in Ireland. In the former country, a large portion of the population revere the Establishment itself, and all, it may be said, profess the Protestant religion which the Church represents; yet, notwithstanding this, so great are the grievances, so multiplied are the evils resulting from the union of church and state, that the system appears to be tending to destruction. But the grievances of English Protestant Dissenters are absolutely nothing in comparison with those of Irish Catholics. They are the poorest part of the population, and yet must support not merely their own religious worship, which, from its very character, must be far more expensive than the Protestant

system,* but also support the Protestant system itself, which they abhor as antichristian. The ecclesiastical system of Ireland has been an effectual barrier, if there were no other, against the spread of Protestantism in that country. The kingdom of Christ never has been and never will be advanced by the use of carnal weapons; it 'is not of this world.'—Vol. ii, pp. 250, 251.

The Protestant ascendancy, as it is called, has been maintained in Ireland at the expense of every principle of justice; and, as a natural consequence, the spirit of Romanism in that devoted country is more vigorous than ever. We thank Dr. Durbin for the freedom with which he has spoken on this subject; and trust that his manly views may find general acceptance.

The author devotes a chapter to the present condition of the Church of England. The political character of the Establishment and the abuses that flow from it are clearly set forth; and some useful facts are stated in regard to the distribution of the vast revenues of the Church. This last is a matter which has been much mystified. As Dr. Durbin remarks,—

"The revenues of the Church, and their distribution, are attracting much attention; yet it is remarkable that the truth cannot be ascertained with respect to either of these points. Some estimates make the revenue about four millions sterling, others six, other eight, and the Westminster Review, nine millions sterling, or about forty millions of dollars. Of this sum, two millions sterling are lay tithes, that is, private property, having become such by some abuse in the administration. It has been computed that the ecclesiastical revenue of the United Kingdom is greater than the sum required to maintain the whole Christian ministry of the world besides. This may not be exactly true, but it is very near the truth. The expense of public worship in France, charged upon the treasury, for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, in 1842, was only £1,480,000, which supports double the number of clergy that some five millions sterling is required to support in England. The difference is still more striking between the United States and England."—Vol. ii, pp. 266, 267.

"* I find the following estimate of the revenues of the Irish Catholic Church quoted in the *Ecclesiastica*, from the Congregational Calendar for 1844:—

	Fees.	Aggr. Am't.
	s. d. s.	
Confessions	1 0 to 5	£300,000
Christenings	2 6 to 5	33,333
Unctions and burials		60,000
Marriages	20 to 40	360,000
Purgatorial prayers	5 to 15	100,000
Collections at chapels		541,632
Curates' collection		22,500
Government grant to Maynooth College		9,000
		<hr/> £1,426,465

Notwithstanding the vast wealth of the Church, she has by no means afforded full religious instruction to the people of England; nay, she has been far outstripped, in point of zeal and usefulness, by Dissenters and Methodists. Under the powerful influence of the voluntary principle, the independent denominations of England have "procured greater results, in everything for which a church ought to exist, than the Establishment, with all its wealth and state." God grant that Christianity in England may soon be freed from the incubus of state patronage and state control!

Dr. Durbin closes a valuable chapter on Roman Catholicism with the following remarks, which contain a view of the duty of the American churches, and especially of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in regard to the education of the people, that cannot be too frequently or too earnestly presented:—

"Next to this unity in heart and action among Protestants, the most important measure is, the sound religious education of the whole Protestant population. The peculiar doctrines and ceremonies of Roman Catholicism give it dominion over the conscience and the imagination; by its admirable and energetic system of education in close connection with the church, it is seeking dominion over the mind. If it succeed, it will have taken possession of the fortress of Protestantism, which dares not bind the conscience or captivate the imagination, but rests solely on the conviction of the understanding, and the faith founded therein. If we do not retain possession of the education of the youth of our country, we shall be compelled to strike our colors at a day much less distant than the most apprehensive have imagined. The whole battle of the Reformation is to be fought over again; not with force of arms, but with moral power. Protestantism has depended too much upon its internal spiritual power. This is great; but to this must be added all other moral means, and foremost among these is the thorough religious education of the youth, in conjunction with their literary, scientific, and common education. Religious instruction must be a prominent feature in the university, the college, the academy, and the common school. To the religious community to which I have the privilege of belonging, I am bound to say, the number of our people, the uniformity of our faith and government, and our diffusion throughout the land, call upon the whole church, through her General Conference, to devise a complete system of education, under her patronage and inspection, which shall meet, not only the wants of her own people, but the great exigency of the renewed conflict between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, which is to put in requisition the energies of Europe and America for the next half century."—Vol. ii, pp. 292, 293.

But we must bring our desultory remarks to a close. The work before us will certainly attract much attention. Few books of the kind have been published, of late years, in which so many valuable

truths have been set forth in so attractive a form; indeed, the work contains a mass of information on a great variety of topics, which renders it, on the whole, worthy of high commendation. Especially is it worthy of praise for its entire freedom from bigotry, and for the general liberality of feeling which it displays. To this last remark even the strong *American* sympathies of the author make no exception. A man may love his own country without hating others. Dr. Durbin's eyes are obviously open to see the faults of America, and he has treated them with unsparing severity when they have fallen in his way; but he has not learned, with some of our tourists, to admire everything European, simply because it is European; and he is too good a patriot to despise everything American, simply because it is American.

We shall look with interest for the author's promised volumes on the East. From the specimens of his capacity for observation afforded in the volumes before us, we shall expect to learn much from him, especially in regard to Asia Minor, which is a field comparatively untrodden.

Z.

ART. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Life of the Rev. Robert R. Roberts, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By Rev. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D. D. 12mo., pp. 408. Cincinnati: Wright & Swormstedt. New-York: Lane & Sandford. 1844.

WE are sorry that we are under the necessity of noticing this work with only a mere glance over a few of its pages. Though the character of the author is ample security for an interesting and instructive narrative, and everything relating to the experience and labors of Bishop Roberts can but be appreciated by both preachers and people, and, of course, we can hazard nothing in recommending the work; yet we should be much better satisfied were we able to set forth its peculiar excellences in all their strength. But this we are, from the necessity of the case, unable to do. An effort to wrest from oblivion the history of the lives and labors of our venerated fathers, and to hand down to posterity their godly examples, is a work which cannot fail to be rewarded with the gratitude of the church. Additional interest is imparted to this volume from the circumstance that the subject of it was one of the early pioneers in the west. He labored and suffered, both in the great enterprise of reducing the wilds of the west to a state of cultivation, and in the still more difficult task of cultivating the

manners and hearts of the people. We hope this work may be extensively circulated among the Methodist families of this country, and doubt not but wherever it goes it will do good.

2. *Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles.* By the late JOHN DICK, D. D., Professor of Theology of the United Secession Church, Glasgow; author of "Lectures on Theology," &c. First American, from the second Glasgow edition. 8vo., pp. 407. New-York: Robert Carter. 1844.

THIS is a work of no ordinary merit. Its style is pure, perspicuous, and nervous; and the arguments clear, and generally conclusive. The character of the work may be gathered from the following statement of its design by the author himself. He says,—

"I propose to deliver a course of lectures on some passages of this book, selecting such as relate to the more remarkable events in the history of the primitive church. Of those passages it is not my intention to give a minute explanation, but to illustrate the principal topics, and to deduce such instructions as they seem to suggest."

This plan our learned author carries out most successfully, and leaves little more to be desired of the same kind of theological and practical illustration of this very important and interesting portion of the Holy Bible. We most earnestly recommend this work to our readers.

3. *Expository Notes, with Practical Observations on the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; wherein the Sacred Text is at large recited, the Sense explained, and the Instructive Example of the blessed Jesus, and his Holy Apostles, to our Imitation recommended. The whole designed to encourage the reading of the Scriptures in private Families, and to render the daily Perusal of them profitable and delightful.* By WILLIAM BURKITT, M. A., late Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham, in Essex. In two vols., 8vo. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

WE are happy to announce the republication of this truly excellent work. Though not critical or profound, Burkitt is orthodox and evangelical. He gives us the plainest and easiest sense of the sacred text, and this is most frequently the true sense. The notes are designed for family and ordinary use—to assist plain minds to a better understanding of the meaning of Holy Scripture, and are admirably adapted to such a purpose. The edition is well got up, and the Christian public will be much indebted to the industrious and enterprising publishers for this effort, and we hope will reward them with a liberal patronage.

4. *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: with Extracts from the Exegetical Works of the Fathers and Reformers. Translated from the original German of Dr. Frederick Augustus Gottreau Tholuck, Professor in Theology in the Royal University of Halle, and Corresponding Member of the Asiatic Society of London.* By the Rev. ROBERT MENZIES. First American, from the second revised and corrected Edinburgh edition. 8vo., pp. 432. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

THIS truly learned and critical exposition of the Epistle to the Romans will be most eagerly sought by all thorough Biblical students. The author is one of the most learned and gifted divines of the evangelical school of Germany. He goes thoroughly into the scope of the apostle's argument, and with giant strength brings out of the inexhaustible treasure a rich supply of whatever is suited to the refined appetite. We most cordially recommend this work to the preachers of our connection.

5. *Sermons preached upon Several Occasions.* By ROBERT SOUTH, D. D., Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. A new edition, in four volumes, including the Posthumous Discourses. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1844.

THESE Sermons have long been admired as fine specimens of the theology and literature of a former age. Bating somewhat on the score of the author's views of justification by faith, his abhorrence of dissent, and his fondness for the *Stuarts*, Dr. South is an author of great merit. Upon a multitude of topics the Sermons before us are full of interest and instruction; and we tender to the publishers our cordial thanks for giving them to the American public in such elegant style and so cheap a form.

6. *A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the various Countries, Places, and principal Natural Objects in the World.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. In two vols., 8vo. In which the Articles relating to the United States will be rewritten, and greatly multiplied and extended, and adapted to the present Condition of the Country, and to the Wants of its Citizens. By DANIEL HASKEL, A. M., late President of the University of Vermont. With seven Maps on steel. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

M'CULLOCH's Universal Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary has received much commendation in Great Britain, and, with his other kindred works, has given the author the first rank in this species of literature. It is a work of great research; comprehensive in its plan, and minute in its details. Its principal articles are like treatises; and

often, as will be seen by a reference to the authorities, embody the substance of the best voyages and travels. To him who wishes to take a wide survey of the world and its inhabitants, it will be found to be without a rival. The original work is given without additions or alterations with respect to all parts of the world besides the United States, excepting a few notes and an alteration of the population, to conform to the census of 1841; the original work having given the census of Great Britain for 1831. The most material parts of the new census of Great Britain have been obtained and inserted. It was impossible, within the prescribed limits, to make the account of the United States correspond, in its fullness, to the European and other parts of the original work; but on an examination it will be found, that few, but unimportant, places have been omitted, while the descriptions of the principal places have a fullness and particularity such as have never hitherto been attempted in a general Gazetteer. The articles on this subject are vastly more numerous, and much more minute, than those which are to be found in the original work, and have been the result of great research, aided by an extensive correspondence with intelligent gentlemen in different parts of the country. Changes are taking place in the United States with an unexampled rapidity, and the most that can be done is, to give as nearly as possible the present condition of the places described. Even this is difficult; but a near approach to it is highly valuable, and cannot fail to be interesting to the general inquirer. The value of the original work to an American reader is greatly enhanced by the numerous and extensive additions of the American editor; and it will be found to embody a great amount of information which can be derived from no other similar source. It may be added, that it contains an extensive abstract of the census and statistics of the United States for 1840, which, though exceedingly valuable, would never be generally consulted in the unwieldy and inconvenient volumes in which they are contained. The work is to be completed in twenty numbers—twelve of which are now published.

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7. *The Land of Israel—according to the Covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob.* By ALEXANDER KEITH, D. D. 12mo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

By appointment of the Missionary Society of the Scottish Church, Dr. Keith, the author of the valuable argument and illustrations on the Scriptural predictions, whose work on prophecy should be universally studied, visited the ancient land of Judea in reference to the promotion of the missionary efforts in that heaven-consecrated country. The prominent result of his tour and scrutiny is unfolded in the compendious

volume entitled, "The Land of Israel." It comprises a geographical delineation of the whole territory originally bestowed upon Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and their posterity; with the past history, statistics, and topography, the present state, and future prophetic prospects of the "dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the end of the earth." It is embellished with many pictorial representations, which are highly illustrative and ornamental. The volume is admirably adapted to enlarge the minds of all philanthropists in reference to the future events prior to the millennium, and to excite the highest longing for that glorious time when the Saviour will "restore again the kingdom to Israel."

8. *Evidences of Christianity—in their External, or Historical Division, exhibited in a Course of Lectures.* By CHARLES PETTIT M'ILVAINE, D. D. Sixth edition. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

BISHOP M'ILVAINE rightly judged that it was his duty to see that his instructive volume on the Evidences of Christianity "no longer should be allowed to be out of print." We rejoice that a book so convincing and impressive is now forthcoming, at a price which will enable Sunday school libraries, district schools, and the "common people" to study his efficient antidote to skepticism. The series comprises thirteen lectures. The first is introductory, and the value of the others can be estimated by the subjects, as discussed by the author:—

"Authenticity and integrity of the New Testament—Credibility of the gospel history—Miracles—Prophecy—Propagation of Christianity—Fruits of Christianity—Refutation of objections—The inspiration of the Scriptures."

We hail the appearance of this volume, "revised and improved;" and trust that the benefits which already have resulted from it in a more restricted circulation will be multiplied to the author's utmost desire in the conviction and conversion of the infidel scorner, in the extirpation of doubts from the perplexed inquirer, and in the building up of believers "in their holy faith."

9. *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, comprising a Description of a Tour through Texas, &c.* By GEORGE WILKINS KENDALL. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1844.

It has seldom fallen to our lot to read a narrative of so interesting and touching incidents of travel as abound in these volumes. The author—the editor of the *Picayune*, at New-Orleans—has become well known throughout our country as a graphic and humorous writer, in which capacity he has contributed to the gratification of a multitude of readers, so frequently are his editorials copied into the newspapers of the day. Still, however, we were not prepared to find in these volumes reading so very attractive, nor could we form any idea that such a narrative of toils and sufferings as are here detailed by the suf-

ferer himself would present so many points of instruction to the general reader.

At this time especially, when the projected annexation of Texas, and the relations of our government to that country and to Mexico, occupy so much of the public attention, the information here incidentally furnished is valuable. The long and tedious journeyings of the expedition, the disasters and tragic events related by an eye-witness during the tour, the cruelties of the Mexican soldiers, and the wrongs of our citizens during their imprisonment, are detailed by the author in a style which possesses all the interest of a romance. And one merit of the work which deserves remark is, the uniform good taste which characterizes it in every part, and many of the moral reflections in which the author indulges must be regarded as honorable to his head and heart. His criticisms upon the Roman Catholic religion, as actually existing in Mexico, are candid, and confirm the testimony upon that subject derived from other sources.

Several well-executed engravings, and a map of the country, are added, which serve to illustrate the text. The work is neatly got up, in the best style of the enterprising publishers, and we learn has already obtained an extended circulation. It is well worthy of being read, and we regret that our limits forbid a more extended notice.

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10. *The Old and New Testament connected; in the History of the Jews and Neighboring Nations; from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ.* By HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

WE always regret to hear Christian professors, and much more, Christian teachers, avow their non-acquaintance with the standard books in theological literature. There are some works, especially, without the knowledge of which the Scriptures cannot be profoundly or accurately comprehended, and Prideaux's is one of them. This edition is illustrated with maps and plates, with two minute chronological tables, and a most copious index. We know not how to express our opinion of the value of Prideaux's "Connection of the Old and New Testament," especially for ministers, students, and sabbath school instructors.

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11. *Sermons.* By JAMES SAURIN. Translated from the French, by ROBERT ROBINSON; HENRY HUNTER; JOSEPH SUTCLIFFE. Edited by SAMUEL BURDER. In two vols., 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THESE Sermons were translated and published in eight successive volumes, and now number one hundred discourses. To them is prefixed a very interesting narrative of the Reformation in France, by Robinson. This series of addresses comprise some of the most valuable, and splendid, and edifying expositions of divine truth within the compass of Christian theology. They include a view of the divine perfections—of the essential didactic truths of the gospel—of the experimental application of sacred instructions—of the duties enjoined by

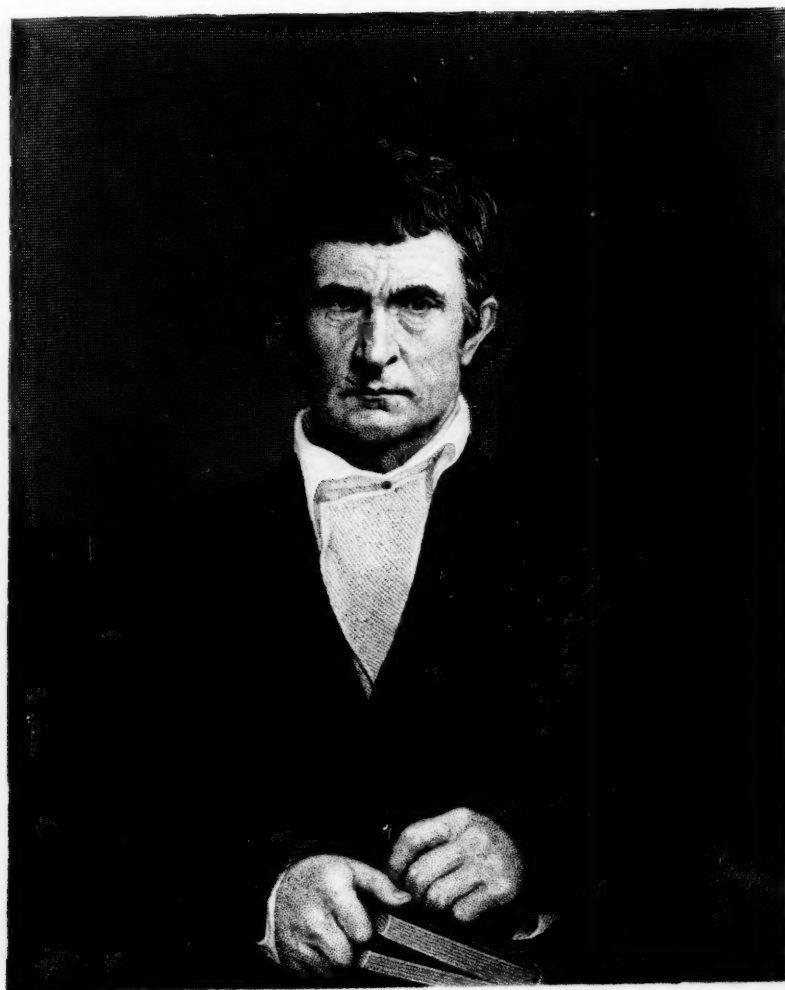
the divine Lawgiver—and of the punishments and rewards which attend the acts and course of man during his earthly pilgrimage—exhibited in “thrilling eloquence and pathos.” To this handsome edition, which is sold at a very low price, Bishop Henshaw has contributed a preface, in which he justly remarks: Here divine “truth appears arrayed in the most attractive robes which genius and learning can throw around her;” and “their chief excellence is their fidelity to the great principles” of the gospel. “Some sermons charm the most uninstructed minds by their beautiful simplicity; and others dazzle and awe the most cultivated by their splendor and sublimity.” Well, therefore, may his question be applied to all preachers and students of divinity, and Christians—What sermons can “more safely and profitably be studied?” They concentrate all the excellence of pulpit oratory.

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12. *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Edited by Rev. H. H. MILMAN. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS edition of this truly wonderful history, issued in numbers by the Harpers, claims a decided advantage in having been subjected to the editorial revision of Mr. Milman, who has endeavored, so far as possible, in the notes, to furnish an antidote to the poison of infidelity which lurks throughout the text. He has brought to the task much learning, and has done much to remove this black stain from one of the most brilliant productions of merely human intellect.

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13. *Sacred History of the World—attemped to be Philosophically considered.* By SHARON TURNER. In three vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

WE have often been surprised that Mr. Turner's “Sacred History” is so little known, especially by preachers of the gospel and candidates for the ministry. The cheap price at which it is sold, we believe, has induced many persons to undervalue and disregard the work. It should, therefore, be recollected that Mr. Turner is one of the most erudite archæologists in Britain, and that his philosophical survey, according to the costly style of printing in England, cannot be imported for less than seven times the price of the copy issued by the Harpers. Part I contains twenty-two letters, illustrative of the work of creation. Part II comprises twenty-seven letters, on “divine philosophy—paradise—the deluge—the original separation and divisions of mankind.” Part III includes forty-two letters, devoted to the character and relations of man and woman individually, and in domestic and social life, with the supernatural history of the world, contrasting the ancient paganism with the Jewish polity, and elucidating the nature and evolutions of prophecy. The whole History is a noble specimen of the unspeakable benefits flowing from the consecration of genius and learning to the service of the sanctuary. The work is unique in its character and design; and should constitute a part of every library which would combine in one focus, scientific researches, general history, and divinely-revealed truth.



Engraved by E. Mackenzie

By Mrs. Hannah Lyman

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